THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN

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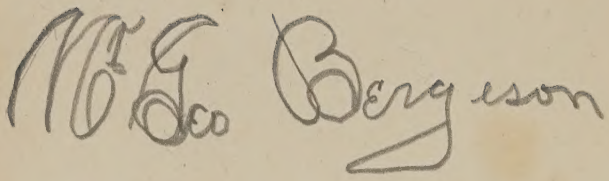

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THE COMMUNITY

AND

THE CITIZEN

BY

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REVISED AND ENLARGED

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PREFACE

THE important changes in our community life, and especially in our methods of self-government, that have occurred during the seven years since the present volume was first published, have made a revision desirable. In no particular, however, has the original point of view been departed from, nor the method of presenting the subject modified. The soundness of a point of view and of a method of elementary instruction in citizenship, which were novel seven years ago, has been abundantly confirmed by their wide acceptance and by visible results in the life of pupils and of communities. The only justification for the book, in its original or revised form, is in its point of view and method. It will be successful in the hands of the teacher in proportion as they are realized in the work of the classroom.

In view of the importance of this fact, advantage has been taken of the opportunity offered by revision to reorganize and supplement the matter in the original "Preface" and "Suggestions to the Teacher," as an Introduction on "Aims and Methods," which, it is hoped, will be of service to the teacher who is seeking to make the work of instruction in citizenship more effective.

In the preface to the original edition the author acknowledged with gratitude the invaluable assistance derived, in the preparation of the book, from the test to which it was put, in a preliminary form, by a year's use in the schools of Indianapolis. He had the benefit of the practical experience, and the searching but sympathetic criticism, of thirty or forty teachers who were daily using the text in their classes. In addition to this, he now wishes to recognize the particular value, of which he has become fully conscious only with the lapse of time, of the spontaneous and frank, though unconscious, criticism of some twelve hundred pupils in those classes, as expressed in their daily reactions to their civics work. The best test of a method of instruction is in the response of the pupils to it. Such success as the book has enjoyed is due in large measure to these two sources of suggestion, together with the cordial coöperation of Dr. Calvin N. Kendall, then Superintendent

of the Indianapolis schools, and now Commissioner of Education for New Jersey.

The author would also again acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. George E. Vincent, formerly of the University of Chicago, now President of the University of Minnesota, and to Dr. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, for the first suggestion of method of approaching the subject in their book, " An Introduction to the Study of Society," and in courses taken with them in the University; and to Dr. Henry Suzzallo, then of Leland Stanford Junior University, now of Teachers College, New York, and to Professor Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, for critical reading of the original manuscript.

ARTHUR WILLIAM DUNN.

WASHINGTON, September 1, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

Aims and Methods

The justification and aim of THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN were stated, in the preface of the original edition, in these words from Professor Dewey's *Ethical Principles Underlying Education:*

"The social work of the school is often limited to training for citizenship, and citizenship is then interpreted in a narrow sense as meaning capacity to vote intelligently, a disposition to obey laws, etc. . . . The child is to be not only a voter and a subject of law; he is also to be a member of a family. . . . He is to be a worker, engaged in some occupation which will be of use to society and which will maintain his own independence and self-respect. He is to be a member of some particular neighborhood and community, and must contribute to the decencies and graces of civilization wherever he is. . . . To suppose . . . that a good citizen is anything more than a thoroughly efficient and serviceable member of society . . . is a cramped superstition which it is hoped may soon disappear from educational discussion. . . . Training for citizenship is formal and nominal unless it develops the power of observation, analysis, and inference with respect to what makes up a social situation and the agencies through which it is modified."

This broad view of citizenship, and the conviction that the chief business of the school is to train for citizenship in this sense, are controlling factors in the development of public education to-day. We hear much of "socializing" the work of the school, of adapting it to the needs of the child as a member of the community. The growing tendency to deal with pupils as individuals instead of *en masse* marks an attempt to help each one to find his proper place in the community. The increasing attention to the physical well-being of pupils, vocational training, school gardening, the reorganization of rural schools, and most of the other important recent developments in the public schools, aim at a

more efficient citizenship on the part of a larger proportion of those who attend school. Dr. F. M. McMurry, of Teachers College, New York, has ventured to judge the efficiency of all teaching on the basis of standards of purely social import (see McMurry, "Elementary School Standards," World Book Company).

While the work of the school in training for citizenship is thus by no means limited to instruction under the name of "civics," this does not mean that there is no further need for systematic instruction in this subject. It only means that civics itself must be "socialized," adapted more closely to the needs of the pupil and of the community, both in subject-matter and in methods, in harmony with the tendency of education in general. This book is an attempt to help the teacher to accomplish this. But even if the author were completely successful in his task, the effectiveness of the teaching still depends upon the teacher more than upon the book.

If civics instruction is to be vital, the object of study must be, not the pages of the text-book, but the actual community of which the pupil is a member. The text is designed to be a guide to the facts and relations of the pupil's own community life, and an interpretation of them. It will facilitate the proper use of the book in this respect, if the teacher will restate the titles of the chapters in terms of the community with which the pupils are familiar. Thus, the title of chapter I, "The Beginning of a Community," may be restated for the pupils of Brownsville, Maryland (let us say), as "The Beginning of the Community of Brownsville," or "of Maryland." The title of chapter IX may likewise be restated, "How Brownsville (or Maryland) Aids her Citizens to Satisfy their Desire for Health." This may be done for many of the chapters of the book, and will force comparison between the statements of the text and the real facts relating to "Brownsville."

The same thing should be done with the topics at the ends of the chapters. These are designed to direct the study to the actual community, and to keep the text related always to the realities by which the pupil is surrounded. "Whence does 'Brownsville' get its authority to add to its territory?" is more effective than "Whence does 'the city' get its authority," etc. The topics given are only suggestive; others should often be substituted to fit the needs of the class and the conditions of the immediate community. Informal discussions of topics are often better than formal reports by individual pupils, although the latter have their place The community spirit should be maintained

in the conduct of the class. While one group of pupils is working coöperatively on one topic or set of topics, another group should be attacking other topics. Let each one acquire a sense of responsibility for a specific contribution to the progress of the class-community.

Materials are not always easily available to furnish an answer to some of the topics, or to questions that arise in the course of the study. This should not be discouraging. A great many questions in real civic life have not yet been answered. The fact that a question cannot be answered does not destroy its usefulness. It is worth a great deal to discover that an important question exists. This is the first step in civic progress. Of course an attempt should be made to answer it, or to show why it cannot be answered. Here is what happened in one case:

The teachers of civics were at first greatly disturbed because no printed material was available to enable the pupils or teachers to answer some apparently simple questions about the water supply of their city. It was not difficult to show, by discussion, that the questions were of real importance to the community. The pupils were asked to consult parents and friends on the subject, the result being to show that they also were ignorant in regard to this important matter. The first important result, then, was to demonstrate that ignorance prevailed regarding matters of prime importance to the community. A second result was that the school authorities took the matter up with the water company, who prepared a complete story of the development and present status of the water supply, and provided guides to take pupils, teachers, and parents through the power houses, filtration system, and other parts of the plant, at any time. The whole community was educated through the raising of questions which at first discouraged teachers and pupils because of a lack of information.

In Newark, N.J., the public library has coöperated with the school authorities in gathering and publishing a large body of material relating to the civic life and development of Newark. In Indianapolis the Commercial Club coöperated with the board of education in a similar way. A type of civics instruction in the schools that leads a community to seek and distribute information regarding itself proves its effectiveness.

The type of civics which this text-book represents has pretty generally acquired the name of "community civics." There is danger of some confusion of ideas about the significance of this term. Com-

munity civics does not relate *merely* to the *local* community (see chapter II). Its significance does not lie in its geographical implications, but in its implication of community relations, community of interests, community coöperation through government for the common good. The study of one's own town may be as lifeless and devoid of the spirit of community civics as the study of the old-time "civil government"; while that spirit may be made thoroughly to infuse the study of the state and of the nation. It will be found that the relations between local, state, and national, and of all three to the interests of the individual, are constantly maintained throughout the chapters of the book. The teacher must never forget the community spirit, even when dealing with the national government. One way of helping to cultivate and maintain it is to nourish the community spirit in the conduct of the class (see chapter XV). The illustrative lessons given later in the Introduction will be suggestive in this connection.

Those who are bound by the traditions of the old-time, formal civil government sometimes profess to see in community civics an undue subordination of government to private social activities. It may be well to caution the teacher against this false impression. Indeed, whether the impression be false or not depends largely on whether the teacher makes it so. As government is the chief means of community coöperation, so it is the controlling idea in community civics. It will be found that "all roads lead to government" throughout this book. What has been attempted is to present government in its perspective, in its relations to the interests of the community and of the individual, even of the pupil. The idea of government is interwoven through every chapter, and the teacher should see that it is kept prominent. The last few chapters are devoted to a description of the governing machinery. They are intentionally brief, for elementary purposes. They should be constantly related, during their study, to what has preceded.

One of the errors that have persistently hindered the progress of civic education is the apparent assumption that the pupil will be a citizen only at some future time. Even children have, in simple form, the same civic interests from which all community action springs, and which are the foundation of all community arrangements and institutions, including government. Every pupil has an interest of some kind in his physical well-being, in his own personal safety and that of his home and family possessions, in his father's occupation or business or

his own future vocation (perhaps in small business enterprises of the present), in the matter of his education, in the appearance of his neighborhood, and in social activities. These are the very things for which government exists. What the civics teacher has to do is to bring these real civic interests of the pupil into the foreground of his consciousness, and relate them to the interests and activities of the community as a whole, and of government as the community's means of coöperation. The first five chapters of the book are designed to establish this point of view; the remainder of the book aims to carry out the idea consistently.

Civic education consists not merely in acquiring a fund of information about one's community and its government. On the side of the pupil it is a process of growth; on the side of the teacher it is a process of cultivating certain essential qualities of good citizenship. Effective civics instruction depends on a clear notion of what these qualities are, and the employment of methods adapted to their cultivation. The type lessons given later will illustrate the point made here; but let us first see what some of the essential civic qualities are which civics instruction should aim to cultivate.

First in importance is *interest* in one's civic relations. Bad citizenship is more often due to lack of interest than to lack of knowledge To cultivate an abiding civic interest, which is one of the aims of civic education, means much more than "to make the subject interesting." It means to cultivate in the pupil a consciousness that these civic relations *are*, now and always, of vital moment to him.

Closely allied to interest is *motive*. But real or apparent interest may sometimes lead to the setting up of wrong motives. A group of boys who were studying their own community from the standpoint of cleanliness and beauty, were "interested" by the offer of a prize to the boy who should bring in the largest number of discarded tin cans. The motive set up was wrong, and uncivic action resulted. Some of the boys hauled into the city wagon-loads of cans from the city's dumps! Good citizenship can only grow out of right motives, which it should be an aim of civic education to cultivate.

No one can be effective in civic life unless his "team work" is good. The proper idea of government is that of a means of coöperation for the common good. The cultivation of *a spirit and habit of coöperation* should be another aim of civic education.

Assuming an interest in civic affairs, a right motive, and a willing-

ness to work with others, a man's citizenship will not even then count for much unless he has *good judgment* when confronted by a civic situation, or by a choice of civic methods; and unless he displays *initiative* in applying the methods to the situations. Civic education should therefore cultivate civic judgment and civic initiative.

The only test that we have been in the habit of applying to our civics teaching in the past has been: How much do the children know? A certain fund of information is essential to good citizenship; but mere knowledge will not of itself make a good citizen. Nevertheless, it is an aim of civic education to give a serviceable fund of information relating to civic life. The problem which confronts the teacher and the maker of the course of study is: How much and what kind of information should be acquired by the pupil? No hard and fast rule can be given for determining just what information should be given under all circumstances; but in general it may be said that information is valuable in proportion as it may be and is related to the experience and interest of the pupil.

We shall find that our civics teaching will become increasingly effective if we continually test it by asking ourselves questions like the following:

Does our civics teaching appeal to the pupil's present, actual interest as a citizen?

Does it afford the pupil an adequate motive (*a*) for studying the subject, (*b*) for participating in civic activities?

Does it stimulate the pupil to coöperative activity in the interest of his own community (*i.e.*, his class, school, family, neighborhood, city, state, nation)?

Does it train the pupil's judgment relative to civic situations and methods of dealing with them?

Does it cultivate in the pupil civic initiative?

Does it select and organize information with reference to its relation to the civic experience and interest of the pupil?

A Lesson on How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Health

(This lesson extended over several days, including observational work, discussions, etc. Text-book assignment in chapter IX was made only after the class discussion was well under way.)

The pupils discussed informally what good health means to each one, and gave examples from their own experience of consequences of sickness. They discussed specific dangers to their own health, such as impure food, water, or air. They explained how they individually care for their own health, or how at times they are careless of it. They discussed how in many cases their health depends not merely on their own care, but on the care of others, and how the danger to health is increased where many people are gathered together. They gave examples of the dependence of each upon others for health protection, as in the case of epidemics. They derived from this the need for coöperation in the interest of health. They illustrated such coöperation in the home and in the school, and mentioned rules that necessarily exist in home and school for health protection. They gave examples of neighborhood coöperation for health protection, such as combined efforts for clean yards, alleys, and streets. After observation and inquiry, they reported on actual menaces to health in their own city, and made the logical deduction regarding the necessity for coöperation on the part of the entire city to avoid these dangers or to remove them. This raised the question as to whether the city did so coöperate, and led to a thorough discussion of how the city government provides the means for such coöperation. They went into detail in regard to how the department of health insures pure water for the use of each family, provides for the removal of garbage from their back doors, and prevents the spread of contagious diseases. This brought under review the regulations (laws, ordinances) bearing on these matters, the activities of the various health officers, and how these are supervised by the board of health. The

relation of the latter to the people was discussed, and also the responsibility of each citizen for coöperation with the board of health for the health of the community.

In a discussion of the various duties of the board of health, one boy asserted that "it passes pure food laws." Another at once objected, "No, it is the *national* government that makes the pure food laws." At once the horizon was broadened, the question why the national government acts in a case like this was discussed, and the relation of the great packing houses (for example) to the common health interests of the entire nation was disclosed. This led to a consideration of other national health interests, and of what the national government is doing in this field. It also suggested the sphere of state activity, which was in turn related to the interests of the individual and to the activities of the local and the general governments.

There was in this lesson no lack of information regarding government, but it was organized with reference to its relation to the pupil's experience. The entire exercise was built on his interest in physical well-being. Motive was supplied for the study both by the method of conducting the lesson, and by the relation the subject bore to common experience. The pupils were dealing with real things. They gathered their information largely from direct observation, from the give-and-take of discussion, from inquiries at home, from newspapers and printed reports, merely supplementing when necessary from text-books. They were *doing* something all the time. The idea of coöperation was prominent in the subject-matter, while its spirit prevailed in the conduct of the class. The teacher was largely in the background — rather, she was merely one of the class. The pupils asked more questions than she. They were encouraged to make their own suggestions regarding sources of information and methods of procedure, thus stimulating initiative. Note, especially, the easy transition from a consideration of the local government to that of the national and state governments, of the relations between them, and of all to the individual. The time-worn question of which should come first was naturally solved; if the question of pure food laws had come up first in discussion the order of treatment would doubtless have been reversed.

Still other points may be more clearly illustrated by the following

Lesson from a Fall of Snow

One morning after a heavy fall of snow the question was raised in a number of civics classes, "What will be the effects of this snowfall upon the life of the community?" It was soon developed, among other things, that it interfered seriously with traffic, resulting in interruption of the schools, of business, and of other community activities; that it impeded the movements of the fire department; that, if it were allowed to melt and freeze, it might be dangerous to life and limb; and that, when it lay in dirty heaps, it marred the beauty of the city. The snowfall was thus seen in various community relations that had previously been discussed by the classes in other aspects.

Who cleaned the snow from the roadways? This was done for the citizens by the street cleaning department of the city government. Who cleaned it from the sidewalks? This was not done by the city, but was left in the hands of individual property owners. The pupils observed, on their way home, how many walks were cleaned, and made a report on the subject. Were the citizens left to their own discretion in the matter? No, for there was a city ordinance which commanded them to clean their walks. Why was the ordinance not obeyed? Why was it not enforced? What is the effect of having a law that is disregarded?

The pupils were impressed by the facts. They talked about it at home. They wanted to do something about it. The question was, what could they do? Some suggested complaining to the authorities; but it was decided after discussion that mere complaint seldom accomplishes much. Some thought that they could speak personally to offenders; but this was voted to be slightly officious, and perhaps offensive to older citizens. It was suggested that groups of boys might clean the walks in their neighborhoods. As a commercial venture this was approved; and in a few cases such groups cleaned walks before vacant lots as a public service. But it was concluded, in general,

that for boys to go about cleaning other people's walks as a public service when these people were expected to do it for themselves, was shifting the burden of responsibility in a harmful way.

The actual result was that the boys pretty generally saw to it that their own walks were cleaned, having impressed upon them that the best civic service is usually performed in the regular course of one's daily tasks; and, further, a public sentiment was created, starting in the class-rooms, extending to the homes, and being spread by civic organizations and the newspapers, until the householders saw to it that there was a great improvement in conditions during the remainder of the season.

A number of suggestions may be derived from this lesson, but especially prominent are the stimulation of initiative and the training of judgment as to modes of civic action. It also illustrates wisely-guided pupil participation in a civic situation affecting the entire community. As action is the end of all good citizenship, so it is the end, as well as an invaluable means, of all good teaching. Pupils should be given abundant opportunity to *live* their civics in the school community and, as far as possible, in the community outside of the school. While participation in real civic activities is a desirable means of civic training, its employment requires the best of judgment on the part of those who direct it. The incident of the boys who brought tin cans from the city's dumps in order to win a prize illustrates misdirected activity. A child that is learning to walk must walk in order to learn; but he should not be expected to walk far, nor to carry heavy burdens. Experiments in pupil participation in civic matters that thrust them unduly into the public view, or that impose upon them responsibilities that properly belong elsewhere, are questionable. The business of the school is to educate the child, and not to exploit him for a reformation of the community that the proper agencies, or the more responsible citizens, have failed to accomplish.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF A COMMUNITY

MANY years ago a company of people in the state of New York decided to found a settlement in the far West. Their purpose was to build a college for the education of Christian ministers. Their first step toward actual settlement was to appoint an exploring committee to search for a suitable site, and a committee to find families who were willing to go.

Why the settlement was made

The exploring committee was given instructions to examine the following points:

What the exploring committee was to look for

1. What is the quality of the water in wells and springs?
2. Do the streams in the neighborhood rise in, or pass through, swamps? Or do they rise from springs? Are they rapid or sluggish?
3. Are there marshes in the vicinity?
4. Is the land level or rolling?
5. What is the quality and depth of the soil?
6. Is there a convenient and abundant supply of timber and fuel?
7. Is there water power? If not, is there coal?
8. Are there navigable streams, or canals and roads already built or proposed?

After three months' search a suitable location was found in a beautiful rolling prairie country, on the watershed between two large rivers, neither of which was more than fifty miles distant. The prairie land was very fertile. Near at hand was a large tract of woodland containing oak, black walnut, and other fine trees, which afforded shelter during the first hard winter, before substantial houses could be built upon the open prairie, and supplied building material and fuel. There were numerous springs and streams which furnished water and good drainage. Since the settlement has become a city, one of these streams has become a menace to health because of the refuse drained into it. Near by an abundance of coal was found, and in the course of time there was discovered a great deposit of shale, good for the making of paving brick, which is one of the chief industries of the city at the present time. The settlement was made before the day of railroads, and there were few wagon roads and no canals in the region. But the location was such that it was felt that roads were certain to center there in the near future.

The site selected

The committee to find families was also successful. Thirty families, comprising one hundred and seventy persons, were found who would go to the new settlement the first year. The settlement founded by these families still takes pride in the fact that it is *a city of homes*.

The families for the settlement

The purpose of those who planned the settlement, as we have seen, was to found a college to educate Christian ministers. The families chosen to make up the settlement were selected, therefore, with a view to getting people who would take an interest in this purpose. The community was noted for its zeal for

Common interests of the settlers

education and *religion*. But this was not all that concerned them. If you will examine the instructions given to the exploring committee, you will see that care was to be taken to find a site favorable to *health;* it must also be favorable to the production of *wealth;* and there must be easy means of *communication* among themselves and with the outside world. Which of the instructions refer to these different things?

The little colony not only planned to build a church, a college, and a common school; they also built houses for shelter, they began to cultivate the soil, they put up a sawmill and a gristmill. Many of the necessary occupations, such as making clothing and shoes, repairing tools, and making furniture, were at first carried on in each household, but soon carpenters, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, and other tradesmen settled in the community. For social life, the people had their singing schools and quilting parties.

The colonists had acquired a township of land. Three sections were reserved for the site of the village and the college. The village was laid out in lots to be sold to those who wished to build homes and places of business. The college land was fenced in, and lots were reserved for the church, an academy, and a common school. Outside of the village the land was sold in half-sections and quarter-sections for farming. These farms were fenced in and improved by cultivation and by the erection of permanent buildings. The more the settlers improved the land, and the more they invested in their homes and business, the greater certainty was there that the community would be permanent and prosperous.

The people united with the land

The early life of this little community was very simple.

The life of the early community

Each man, with his neighbors' help, chopped and hauled the logs with which to build his cabin. In the edge of the grove there were "a dozen or two log cabins, some built without a nail or a pane of glass; with the spaces between the logs chinked with mud; with outside chimneys made of clay and sticks; with boxes, barrels, and short logs for chairs, a large box for the table, and a one-post bedstead[1] for an honored guest." Each man was his own mechanic, some were their own cobblers, and the wives were the tailors and dressmakers. A family in "average circumstances" is described as having "enough money to pay taxes and postage." Servants were rare and were on equal terms with the family. The cabins were adorned by such simple means as sticking four balls of clay upon the corners of the chimneys. It is said that it was strange "how quickly, under the good taste and deft fingers of the ladies of the colony, these cabins took on a cozy air and an appearance of beauty and refinement." Books and papers were few, and were handed about from house to house. Money was scarce, so that the exchange of goods took place by barter. Farm produce had to be hauled in wagons straight across the prairie to the nearest large town, fifty miles away. When any great undertaking was proposed, like the building of the church, all the men of the community united in the work. They chopped and hauled the logs from the grove, they hewed out the timbers, they put the frame together, and raised the building.

The people in this little community, selected as they had been with great care by a committee, were at first remarkably harmonious. They were of one nationality;

[1] A one-post bedstead was built in the corner of the room, the two walls serving as two sides of the bed.

THE PIONEER COMMUNITY IN THE WEST.

This is a view of the settlement described in the first chapter, and is from an old painting made by a resident of one of the cabins shown in the picture.

they were of Puritan principles. They all rallied around the idea of the Christian college. If any differences arose, they were at first settled by the church organization. But with the coming of more settlers, and the development of new interests, it became necessary to form *a government.*

Government of the community

Such was the beginning of this community, which has developed until to-day it is a thriving city with handsome homes, busy streets, noisy factories, churches, schools, and libraries. It is an important railroad center, and is thus brought into the life of the world outside. It is a center of culture and refinement, and a pleasant place in which to live.

FOR INVESTIGATION

Keep in mind that *your own community* is what you are to study, and that the text is merely a guide. This chapter is the true story of the founding of a community in Illinois. Every community, including your own, has had a beginning more or less like that of the one described here. The text with the following questions will suggest the kinds of things you should look for in your own community.

1. Can you find out how the site of your community happened to be selected?

2. Take the list of instructions given to the exploring committee mentioned on page 1, and answer the questions there asked with reference to your own community.

3. From what localities did the early settlers in your own community come? What led them to found a new community? How did they make the journey from their old homes to the new settlement?

4. Find true stories of pioneer life in your own community, or in your own state.

5. When Virginia was colonized, did the character of the site influence the life of the colony? Did the character of the people do so? Answer these questions with reference to the other colonies.

6. What were the purposes that led the colonists to settle in New England? Compare with the purposes of the settlers described in this chapter.

7. Describe the life of the people in Massachusetts during the first few years of the colony. Compare with the life of the settlement described on page 4 of this chapter, and with the pioneer life of your own community.

REFERENCES

1. Where possible, the pupil should gather information from old settlers of his acquaintance.

2. Where available, local histories should be made use of. County histories, reports of old settlers' meetings, etc., are useful.

3. Use any stories of pioneer life, like that of Lincoln's boyhood, to supplement local history. McMurry's "Pioneer History Stories" (Macmillan) is good.

4. For questions 5–7, the ordinary school histories will usually suffice where other books on colonial life are not available.

5. There is an excellent series of books on colonial life, suitable for pupils, by Alice Morse Earle. These will be useful throughout the study. Some of the titles are: "Colonial Dames and Good Wives"; "Stage Coach and Tavern Days"; "Home Life in Colonial Days"; "Child Life in Colonial Days."

6. "Pioneer Indianapolis," by Ida Stearns Stickney (Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1907). This monograph of sixty-eight pages is a good type study of the early development of community life in its various important aspects. The material is organized so as to bring out the civic relations and is in excellent literary form. This might well be a model for similar studies in other communities. It illustrates how much material may be made available in almost any community by the coöperation of school authorities, teachers and civic organizations, libraries, or public-spirited citizens.

7. Small and Vincent, "Introduction to the Study of Society," Book II, pp. 99–165: "The Natural History of a Society." (For the teacher.)

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS A COMMUNITY?

THE story of the founding of the colony in the West illustrates certain things that we should know about communities. Each one of us is a member of a community. We wish to know just what our community is, and how it grew. We wish especially to know what it does for us, and what we owe to it.

The community whose beginnings we noticed in the last chapter consisted of a *group of people* who settled together in *a single locality*, and who were bound to each other by *common interests*. They were also subject to *common laws*. This may be taken as a definition of any community.

Definition of a community

Communities may be large or small; that is, the people may be many or few, and the locality in which they live may include a large area or a small one. A group of neighboring farmers with their families may constitute a community. In this case the area occupied may be large, while the people are few in number. Or the community may be a city, with a dense population in a comparatively small area. Each state in our Union is a community, and so is our nation, because each is composed of a group of people occupying a common territory and governed by common interests and common laws. The nation is composed of state communities, and each state is made up of many city and rural communities.

Large and small communities

You may live in a small city which is a community in

itself, with its group of people, its boundaries, its common interests, and its common laws. A few miles outside of your city is a community of farmers, whose houses are far apart, but who have common interests, such as keeping up the roads and the bridges in their neighborhood. The farmers bring their produce to the city for the use of the people there, and in turn depend upon the city for many of their necessities and pleasures. The country and the city communities thus have certain interests in common, and their dealings with each other are regulated by common laws. You are, therefore, a member not only of your city community, but also of a larger community including the farmers. You belong also to the community of the whole state, and to a still larger one including the nation.

Communities unite into larger ones

No community ever began its existence fully formed, but each has grown from small beginnings. It is like the growth of a plant from the seed. You may have seen a tangled mass of vines growing from a common root, with the branches and tendrils so interwoven that it is difficult to trace one of them back to the main trunk. So in a great community like a city, or like our nation, we find the structure and the organization so complicated that it is often difficult to understand them. It is easier to take a community in its simpler stages, like that of the last chapter, for a beginning of our study.

Communities grow from small beginnings

Being a member of a community means that each one of us takes part in, and contributes to, its life. The hand is a member of the body; it receives life from the body and contributes to its life. If the body is sick, the hand cannot do its work well; if the hand is crippled, the body suffers. So your life is closely interwoven with that of the community of which

Membership in a community

A Village Community in New York.

Notice the neighboring farming community

you are a member. The best of your life comes from participation in its life. You can imagine yourself shut off from mankind, like Robinson Crusoe; but what a narrow life you would lead! *Citizenship* means just this membership in the community, with its giving to and receiving from the community's life; and *good citizenship* means performing well one's part as a member of the community. Citizenship carries with it certain privileges and certain duties.

Citizenship

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Talk over in class the four essentials of a community — the group of people, the site, the common interests, and the common laws. Apply these essentials to your own community.

2. Is your class a community? Explain. What are its common interests? Are its laws written or unwritten?

3. Show how the different classes in your school are bound together by interests common to the whole school. Compare this union of classes into a school with the union of states into a nation.

4. What are some of the things in which your family and your nearest neighbors have a common interest because of living close together?

5. What are some of the things in which the people of a city and the neighboring farmers have a common interest?

6. Name some things in which all the cities of a state have a common interest. What are some things in which the whole nation has a common interest?

7. Show how an injury or a benefit to one person may be an injury or a benefit to the whole community of which the person is a member. Show how an injury or a benefit to a community will injure or benefit the individual members of the community.

8. Can you be a member of your class without doing it either good or harm? If a member of a community contributes nothing to its welfare, can he avoid being harmful to it? Explain.

9. What are some of the things that a citizen receives from his community?

10. Think of some ways in which a citizen may contribute to the welfare of his community.

CHAPTER III

THE SITE OF THE COMMUNITY

In beginning our study we must remember that the people and the locality both contribute something to make our community what it is.

The geographical features of the land enter into the life of the community in many ways. In its relation to the land, we may compare the growth of a community to the growth of a plant. The plant derives its support from the soil. Some kinds of plants flourish in one kind of soil, other kinds in other soils. In the case of all plants, their size and fruitfulness depend not merely on the kind of seed sown, but also on the character of the soil. It is the same with communities. Whether a community shall live or die may depend entirely on the character of its site.

Importance of the land

The importance of the character of the land is seen clearly in the account of the founding of the community in the first chapter. The site of a community is not always selected so carefully as in that case; but the influence of the site is always important.

Natural geographical conditions usually determine where large cities shall grow. Nature seems to have planned the mouth of the Hudson River as the site of the greatest city on the Atlantic coast. A good harbor, like that of Boston or San Francisco; the junction of two navigable rivers, as at Pittsburg or St. Louis; the falls of a river, checking navigation

In determining where cities shall grow

and affording water power, as at Minneapolis or Louisville; the head of a river estuary, as at Quebec or Philadelphia; the center of a rich region where roads naturally cross, as at Indianapolis — all these are conditions favoring, if not determining, the growth of large communities.

The health of a community depends in many ways on the character of the land. Low, flat regions are likely to be unhealthful. Sluggish streams and lakes that tend to become stagnant breed disease. The supply of drinking water is an important matter, and often depends on the character of the underlying rocks into which wells are sunk. These geographical influences become of the greatest importance in cities where the population is dense, for the artificial drainage may be good or bad according to the character of the natural drainage; and the water supply is in much greater danger of pollution in the city than in smaller communities. A stream which is naturally clear and sparkling may become, in the heart of a city, a foul breeding place of disease.

In relation to health

Climate is also one of the conditions that influence community life. A little thought will show how climate may determine the mode of life — the character of the houses, the form of clothing, and even the nature of the sports and amusements of the people.

Influence of climate

The natural resources of a region go far to determine the character of a community through the forms of industry and the consequent modes of life to which they lead. The fertility of the soil, the presence of mineral ores of different kinds, or of abundance of fuel, or of forest products, or of water power, determine the kinds of occupations, the size of communities, the character of the population, and even to a large extent the nature of the laws and the forms of government. Can

Influence of natural resources

you not name some cities in the United States that are celebrated for industries which depend on the presence of important natural resources?

In many rural communities the farmers are almost completely isolated from one another during a part of the year because the roads are impassable, owing to a soil which forms a deep mud, or to the flat and swampy character of the land. This condition interferes with the social, business, and intellectual life of the farmers, and influences their relations with one another in many ways. An unusually hilly site may affect the social and the business life of a city. A river and its branches may divide a city into parts more or less distinct and with differing characteristics. Such a city is Chicago, with its North, West, and South Sides.

Influence of surface features

Virginia affords an example of how the land may shape the character and the history of a large community. The development of this colony and state was determined to a remarkable extent by conditions of climate, soil, and surface which encouraged the cultivation of the tobacco plant. This industry required large plantations, which were distributed along the shores of the navigable rivers, of which there were many. These rivers were large enough to permit the ocean vessels of that time to pass some distance up their courses. Therefore each planter had his wharf, at which he loaded his tobacco for shipment and received manufactured goods from abroad. These conditions discouraged the growth of cities, and the population remained almost wholly rural. An abundance of cheap labor was necessary, and hence slavery gained a foothold. The scattering of the population over wide areas made it dif-

Influence of geography on the development of Virginia

ficult for the people to come together at a common meeting place, so that the township organization with its government by town-meeting, such as was found in New England, was impracticable, and the county system of government developed instead (see chapter XXI).

In New England, on the other hand, the infertility of the soil, the severity of the winters, the hilly character of the region, the presence of abundant water power, the excellence of the fisheries along the coast, and the hostility of the native Indian tribes all contributed to the concentration of the population in towns and helped to determine the mode of life and a form of local government quite different from that of Virginia.

The character of our national community depends in a large measure on the character of the land. Rich resources have made our land a place of opportunity to all. East of the Rocky Mountains, at least, the country is well fitted geographically to be the home of a single great nation rather than of many small ones. The whole region from the Rockies to the Alleghanies is closely bound together by river systems. The navigable rivers in early days, and the conditions which have made the building of railroads easy in later times, have hastened the settlement of the country. Our situation between the two great oceans has protected us from foreign aggression, and it has also given us a great advantage in the commerce of the world. Yet we have had many geographical difficulties to overcome. If it were not for the wonderful development of means of rapid transportation and communication, such as the railroad, the telegraph and the telephone, the postal system and the newspapers, it might have been very difficult for our great country to hold together under one government, because of the geographical

The home of our nation

differences of the different sections. "For the creation of the nation the conquest of her proper territory from Nature was first necessary. . . . A bold race has derived inspiration from the size, the difficulty, the danger of the task."

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. *a*. If you live on a farm or are well acquainted with one, make a sketch map of it, showing position of highlands, lowlands, marshes, timber, streams; also houses, barns, roads, bridges.

b. Did the features of the land determine the location of the buildings? Of the roads and bridges? The drainage of the farm? The kinds of crops raised on different parts of the farm?

c. Has the character of the land influenced the life of the farmer's family in any way? (Bear in mind climate, the change of seasons, the presence of woods, good or bad roads; and think of their effects upon going to school or church, amusements, social life.)

2. Can you discover any advantages in the site of the town in which you live, or of the one nearest to your home, that determined its location? How?

3. Make a map of the site of your town or city showing the natural drainage; *i.e.* the streams into which the land is drained. Is the drainage good or bad? Is it equally good in all parts of the city?

4. What are the natural resources of the region in which your community is situated? How have they influenced the life of the community?

5. Are the geographical conditions in your community favorable to good roads in the country districts? Explain fully. How does this influence the life of the towns? Of the farmers?

6. Is your community divided into districts or regions by any natural features (hills, streams, etc.)? Can you show any results of this fact upon the life of the community?

7. What geographical conditions affect your supply of drinking water?

8. Is your state noted for any particular industries? If so, what geographical conditions have helped to make it so?

9. What geographical difficulties had to be overcome in the development of your state? How has the state government helped to overcome them?

10. Describe some important work now being done by the national government to overcome geographical difficulties.

11. Do you know of any laws in your state that are due to particular geographical conditions (such as the laws relating to water rights in an irrigated region)?

12. Explain how differences in geographical conditions once nearly divided our nation into two.

13. What geographical sections of our nation would perhaps be most likely to become independent politically if it were not for the invention of easy means of communication?

REFERENCES

The teacher should see that the work in this chapter is correlated with the pupil's work in geography.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT THE PEOPLE IN COMMUNITIES ARE SEEKING

MAN has been called a bundle of wants, and these wants are constantly leading him to act in such a way as to satisfy them.

First of all, men desire life and health. They will ordinarily give up anything in order to preserve their lives.

The desire for life and health

Good health is one of the most priceless possessions. A perfectly sound and healthy body is one of the greatest joys a man can have, and without it he is unable to satisfy his other desires to the fullest extent. Recall the provisions made for the protection of life and health by the colonists mentioned in the first chapter.

Another thing that people want is to own something. Boys and girls like to have things that they can call their own. The things that men seek to own — houses, cattle, books, pictures, and the like — constitute wealth. The desire for wealth is a very strong one, stronger in some persons than in others. What a man owns is valuable because of what he can do with it. It helps him to sustain and protect life. It enables him to enjoy comforts and luxuries that he could not otherwise have. It makes it possible for him to educate himself, to satisfy his desire for art, to travel, and to enter more fully into social life. Men engage in farming, in manufacturing, in buying and selling, and many other forms of business to satisfy their desire for wealth.

The desire for wealth

Men also want knowledge. That is why children ask so many questions, and why boys like to take things to pieces to see how they are made. It is this desire that led Peary to the arctic regions, and Livingstone to the heart of Africa. It lies at the foundation of all science. It was one of the foremost desires that led to the founding of the settlement in the West (chapter I).

The desire for knowledge

Men also take pleasure in things that are beautiful. This may lead to travel, to the collection of pictures, to the erection of beautiful buildings, and to the maintenance of well-kept streets and lawns. There is a great variety of activities for the satisfaction of the desire for beautiful things. How did this desire show itself in the community mentioned in the first chapter?

The desire for beauty

No race or tribe of men has ever been known that did not have some form of religion. The religious desire is characteristic of men. In every community there are certain things that men do to satisfy it. It may be the sacrificing of animals, as among the ancient Hebrews. It may be the throwing of children to the crocodiles, as in India. It may be the building of beautiful temples, as in ancient Greece. It may be waging a great war, like the Crusades; or it may be the founding of a hospital or some other charitable institution. The desire for the spread of religion was the chief motive of the settlers mentioned in the first chapter.

The desire for righteousness

Man desires companionship. He has been called a social animal. He engages in many forms of activity to gratify his desire to associate with other men. How fully could this desire be satisfied in the little community founded in the West?

The desire for companionship

Many of the things that men do are the result of several

of these desires working together. A man's desires for knowledge, for beautiful scenery, and for health may combine to lead him to the mountains. When Columbus sailed on his voyage of discovery, he was led by his desire for knowledge, his desire for wealth, and his desire to extend the influence of Christianity. Sometimes one desire may seem to obscure every other desire in the life of a person. The love of wealth may take such possession of a man that he becomes a miser, or perhaps dishonest. It has sometimes happened that a man has become so enthusiastic in the pursuit of art, or of science, that he has sacrificed his health, or even life itself, as in the case of André, who attempted to reach the north pole in a balloon. History tells us of men who were so devoted to what they believed to be their religious duty that they became hermits, shutting themselves away from all companionship, denying themselves riches, mutilating and starving the body, and even suffering death. But in every normal person there are found all the desires named, and *the well-rounded life is made up of activities to satisfy all of these desires in due proportion.*

Combinations of desires

One desire sometimes shuts out all others

The well-rounded life

Two persons may have the same desires, but may attempt to satisfy them in different ways. The Flathead Indians bind boards upon the foreheads of their children, flattening them, because they think the result is beautiful. A certain people blacken their teeth and scorn Europeans who have "white teeth like dogs." So among us there are people who seem to take delight in things that are repugnant to others. The miser and the spendthrift both have wrong ideas of the use of wealth. One man's desire for companionship may lead him into profitable associations with

Different ways of satisfying the same desire

others. The same desire in another may lead him to waste his time in the evil influences of the saloon.

Where there are so many desires and so many ways of satisfying them it is not strange that the activities of people sometimes conflict. The robber, in his pursuit of wealth, conflicts with the desires of others. One man may erect a cheap and ugly building that is a nuisance in the neighborhood. An employer may maintain a poorly ventilated factory or store that endangers the health of those who work for him. A crowd of young people in their love of sport and companionship may interfere with the peaceful pursuits and the comfort of others. That community is best to live in, in which each citizen not only has the greatest opportunity to satisfy his desires in life, but also recognizes the fact that all other citizens have their desires, and an equal right to satisfy them.

Conflicts of desires and of activities

In the course of time men, living together in communities, have developed various means to secure harmony, and to prevent the rights of one from being interfered with by others. Three means to secure these results are:

Means to secure harmony

1. *The school.* Its chief purpose is to train children for citizenship; that is, for membership in the community. (See chapter XV.)

2. *The church.* It works through the religious desires of men. Its service in helping men to live harmoniously together may be expressed by its teaching, "Do unto others as ye would be done by."

3. *Government.* It establishes and enforces *laws* for the common good, which all should willingly observe. It is not something placed over us from without, to tyrannize over us, and to be feared and antagonized. It is a friend

of our own making, and should be cherished and supported by every citizen to the fullest extent possible. The beneficent purpose of government is stated in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, which reads:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

FOR INVESTIGATION

The final impression to be left prominent in the mind of the pupil as a result of the study of this chapter is that of *government and law as means of coöperation.*

1. What things are done in your own home for the purpose of satisfying the desires mentioned in this chapter?

2. What are some of the things, outside of your home, that the people of your community do to satisfy these desires?

3. What desires are gratified by a person who does the following things: paints his house; attends a concert; visits a sick friend; buys a book; makes a garden; keeps a dog; takes out a fire-insurance policy; keeps a store; goes to church; attends a lecture?

4. Show how the following arrangements help you and others to satisfy the desires named: paved streets; the post office; a hospital; a library; a court house; a market; the telephone; sewers; a fire department; a park. Name other community arrangements or institutions and explain them in the same way.

5. Show how a person's desire for companionship may conflict with his desire for knowledge; how his desire for wealth may conflict with his desire for health or for companionship.

6. Give illustrations of how some persons, in satisfying their desires, interfere with the attempts of others to satisfy theirs.

7. Does community life make it easier, or more difficult, for men to satisfy their desire for life; for health; for wealth; for knowledge; for beauty; for religion? Explain.

8. Show how, in the school, the pupil who "does as he pleases" interferes with the liberty of others. Is it right that his own liberty

should then be restricted? Why? Is liberty the right to "do as one pleases"?

9. Discuss some rules that regulate conduct in your home; in your school; on your playground; on the street. Show how such rules are necessary to prevent conflict of interests. Compare such rules with city or state laws.

10. Study together in class the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States and, if possible, a part of the bill of rights of your state constitution. Find how many of the desires mentioned in this chapter are there provided for.

11. Mention one way in which government helps you to satisfy each of the desires mentioned in this chapter.

12. Discuss the idea of government as a means by which the people may coöperate for the common good, and illustrate it with particular cases.

REFERENCE

Small and Vincent, "Introduction to the Study of Society," pp. 169-182. (Book III, chap. I.) (For the teacher.)

CHAPTER V

THE FAMILY

It was pointed out in the first chapter that the community in the West was settled by *families*, and grew up to be *a city of homes*. There are communities in our land in which a large part of the population is without homes in the true sense of the word. In the far West there are mining towns, and in the North lumber camps, composed almost entirely of men without families. In such communities life is rough, some of the best features of civilized life are lacking, and the community is likely to be lawless. In cities there are thousands of people who live in dwelling places with very little that we usually associate with home life. Many, indeed, have not even regular dwelling places, as in the case of tramps. There are thousands of unfortunate, homeless children adrift in our great cities. It is largely in the drifting, homeless population that the disorderly and criminal classes are found. The family and the home are of the greatest importance to a community, first because of what they do for the individual citizen in helping him to satisfy the desires of life, and second because of the services they render to the community as a whole.

The family in the community

What the normal family does for its members can best be understood if we first study the life of a pioneer family, cast almost entirely upon its own resources in a new country. Tempted by stories of rich lands in the West and greater opportunities of gaining a liveli-

The pioneer family

hood and accumulating wealth, this family had packed its household goods and, with a team of horses and a wagon, had undertaken the journey of six weeks or more into the wilderness. It selected a spot in an open space in the forest, not far from the banks of a stream, where the conditions of the land gave promise of making a new home safe, pleasant, and productive of good results. The family then was miles from any other human abode. There were no roads connecting it with civilization except the rough "trace" by which it found its way into the forest. The family was face to face with the great wilderness, whose conquest was for the present its chief task.

The husband and father immediately began to make a home. With the help of his son, he cut down trees from the forest and built a log house. He became woodcutter, carpenter, and builder. They made some simple furniture, and built a great fireplace of clay and sticks, with an oven. Fuel was found in abundance in the forest.

Providing a shelter

The open space in the forest around the house was enlarged by clearing away the trees, the ground was plowed, and grain and vegetables were planted. The grain was cut and threshed by hand, and ground into meal in a home-made stone mill. For fresh meat they had to depend chiefly upon game from the forest. Some necessities, such as salt and powder, and a few luxuries, such as coffee, had to be brought with great difficulty from the nearest settlement many miles away. In exchange for these things they gave their surplus farm products and a few furs from animals trapped during the winter. Money was almost never seen in this Western country.

Providing food

Exchange of goods

The man built a forge. Under the stress of necessity,

and aided by some little experience gained in the East, he was able to repair his tools, and even to make new ones, to shoe his horses, and to do many other things necessary on the farm. He experimented in making moccasins and even shoes. He began the raising of sheep and cultivated flax. A spinning wheel and a hand loom were set up in the house, and coarse but serviceable clothing was made by the mother's hand.

Occupations of the father and the mother

Little was to be feared, in those early days, from thieves and marauders, although there were occasional rumors of threatened Indian attacks. Against possible dangers of this kind the father was a watchful protector. Another enemy more difficult to cope with was sickness, due to the presence of a swamp near at hand. The medicine chest, supplemented by roots and herbs from the forest, was a valuable part of the family equipment. The mother proved herself a sympathetic and resourceful physician and nurse. She also saw to it that the cause of disease was reduced as much as possible by keeping the premises clean.

Protection against violence and disease

The education of the children had to be looked after. The son was taught the duties of the farm and the use of tools of all kinds. He became a skillful woodsman. The older girl learned the duties of the household, how to spin and weave, and many other things to fit her for the life she had to lead. The mother taught the youngest child to read, and instructed all in ideas of right living. She planted a little flower garden in the dooryard, and trained vines over the house. With the crude materials at hand, she used her taste to the utmost in beautifying the children's clothes.

Education and art

The parents were religious people in accordance with their early training. The family Bible occupied a promi-

nent place in the household, and from it every day the father read to the family group. There was no church for miles around. **Religion**

There was little companionship for the members of this family outside of the family group; but within the group there was the closest association. The children interested themselves in the work of the parents, and the parents entered sympathetically into the pastimes of the children. They read and sang together. The children had their sports in fields and woods, appropriate to the seasons. For want of other companions they made pets of all the domestic animals. An occasional traveler was welcomed in the home with the freest hospitality. **Social life**

The occupations of the day were carried on in regular order; each had his special duties to perform at certain times. The children rendered obedience to their parents. The father was the recognized head of the family. His word was law. Yet he constantly had the best interests of the family at heart, and was kind and thoughtful with all his sternness. **Government**

Such was the life of the pioneer family. It was crude and imperfect; but you see that all the kinds of desires that men have were provided for more or less completely within the family itself. It looked after the protection of life and health, the production of wealth, the education, the religious training, and the social life of its members.

In the course of time other families came into the neighborhood. Then an organization into a larger community began. The settlers rendered aid to each other in building houses and gathering crops. Many of the occupations formerly carried on in the family were now transferred to members of the community who made these occupations their **The family relieved by the organization of a larger community**

business. A school was organized to provide a better education than could be offered in the home, and a church was built at the crossroads. A government also was organized.

Although, as a community grows, various means arise to help the family to provide for the wants of its members, the family must always bear an important part of the responsibility for the welfare of its members. No matter how good the doctors, the health of the people in any community depends more on the family than on anything else. No matter how efficient the schools, a great responsibility rests on the family for the proper education of the children. No matter how many social organizations there may be in the community, the social life of the home is the most important of all and the most far-reaching in its results. No matter how excellent the government of a community may be, it can have little good result if the government in the home is lacking. The surest way to secure good government in the community is through careful government in the homes that make up the community. *No matter how large the community, or how completely it is organized, the family remains one of the most important means to provide for the wants of the citizens.*

The responsibility of the family

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Find out what you can about family life in the pioneer days of your own community: the kind of dwellings; where the food supply came from; how health was cared for; the occupations in the household; what was done to beautify the home; the social amusements.

2. Show to what extent the needs of a farmer's family in your own neighborhood are satisfied by its own efforts.

3. Observe whether your own family is chiefly dependent on itself for its needs, or depends on arrangements supplied by the community.

4. Compare the advantages of the average country family with those of the average city family, with respect to satisfying the desires of life Or, debate the question: Home life in the country has greater advantages than home life in the city.

5. Study the way in which the average family governs itself. Why is this government necessary?

6. Are there in your community many people without homes, as explained in the first paragraph of this chapter?

REFERENCES

See references under Chapter I.

Beard, "American Citizenship," pp. 21–32. Different kinds of homes.

Beard, "American City Government," pp. 1–30. Family life in cities.

Gillette, "Constructive Rural Sociology," pp. 57–76. Advantages and disadvantages of farm life.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOME AND THE COMMUNITY

"No nation can be destroyed while it possesses a good home life."

THE normal family not only does much to provide for the welfare of the individual, but it also performs certain valuable services for the community as a whole.

The family a training school for citizens

In the first place, the family has been called "a school of all the virtues" that go to make good citizenship. It is a school in which not only the children, but also the parents, are trained for citizenship. It has been said that if a man is a good husband, a good father, a good son, or a good brother, the probability is that he will also be a good citizen in the community. And we must not forget the wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters. The quality of the citizenship of the women of a community is perhaps shown more in their family life than that of the men, because such a large part of their lives is spent in the family and the household, and also because their influence there is so great in molding the character of the men. In the family are developed thoughtfulness for others, the spirit of self-sacrifice, loyalty to the group of which the individual is a member, respect for the opinions of those of long experience, obedience to the head of the family and to the rules which have been established for the welfare of all. If these and other qualities of good citizenship are not

cultivated there, the family is not in a healthy condition, and is not doing its full service to the community.

There is no other kind of property that gives such satisfaction to the owner as a home. Men usually look forward with eagerness to the time when they can own their homes, and take great pride in that ownership when it is acquired. Many families live in homes which they do not themselves own; they rent from others. When that is the case, there is lacking one of the strongest influences that make the home life complete. The ownership of a home adds another bond of union among the members of the family through the common interest which it affords. A man has a greater interest in improving and beautifying a home that he owns than one that he rents from another.

The owning of a home

A MODEST HOME.

A family that owns its home will usually take a greater interest in the community in which it lives than the family that owns no home. It feels a sense of proprietorship in a part of the community land. The value of a home will increase in proportion to the prosperity of the community as a whole. Its owner will therefore be inclined to do all he can to promote the welfare of the community for the sake of his family. A community that is made up largely of homes owned by their occupants is likely to be prosperous on this account,

Creates interest in the community

and its citizens will be loyal to it. This is why the community mentioned in the first chapter has reason to boast that it is a city of homes.

In large cities, where people are crowded together in a comparatively small area, it is difficult for all to get possession of a piece of ground suitable for a home. The land, being in great demand, becomes very valuable, so that many families are unable to buy it, or even to pay the necessary price for the use of it. The result is that such families are driven to make their homes in the least desirable localities in the community.

A Wretched Dwelling.

Dangers to home life in cities

They may resort to the lowlands along a river flowing through the community, where the land is unhealthful and in danger of floods. In some river towns most wretched dwelling places may be found in such localities. In large cities many families are often crowded together in buildings owned by men who can get better returns by charging small rents to many families than they could by charging larger rents to a few. These crowded dwelling places, which often do not deserve the name of homes, are called tenements, and the section of the city where the crowding is the worst and the buildings are the poorest constitutes what is known as the slums. These tenement dwellings involve all sorts of evils. Where so many families live in one building, and where many buildings are crowded together without space between, there cannot be the privacy that is essential to good home life. Such conditions are also detrimental to health. The

A Crowded Tenement District

sunlight never penetrates to the interior of some of these buildings. They are ill-ventilated and unsanitary. There is no room for playgrounds for the children. Among a crowd of people in such wretched dwellings there are always many ignorant, immoral, and vicious persons, who have a bad influence upon others with whom they are constantly thrown. Criminals often find a safe hiding place in the dark and crowded tenements of the slums.

Families living in such conditions as we have described are less likely to take an interest in the welfare of the community and to contribute to its well-being. On the other hand, their part of the community is a constant burden and menace to the whole community. Fires are likely to start among the crowded and poorly constructed buildings, and to spread to other parts of the city. The unsanitary conditions invite epidemics of disease, which may not easily be restricted to the district where they originate. Disorder, vice, and crime are more frequent there, requiring police supervision, which has to be paid for by the whole community. In many ways the possessor of the good home in the better part of the city has to bear the burden of, and help pay for, the existence of these poor homes. A very large part of the expense of government could be avoided if the poor homes of the city could be converted into pleasant homes, with plenty of room, light, and fresh air. *Much of government is made necessary in order to take the place of what is lacking in the home life of the community.*

The burden of the worst homes rests upon the whole community

Government and the home

In many large cities a movement has been begun for the improvement of conditions in the tenement districts. The old, unhealthful tenements are being removed and better ones built. More sunlight is being let in and better

plumbing introduced. Open courts, or yards, are provided in order that the people may get out of doors

Movement toward reform

Parks and playgrounds are being established in the vicinity of the crowded districts. The introduction of rapid transportation has done much to induce people to move out to the suburbs, where life is more healthful and where conditions are better for home life.

It is much better, however, to prevent wretched home conditions from gaining a foothold in the community than to have to correct them after they have appeared. They are conditions that tend to appear wherever the population is rapidly increasing. Some of our city and state governments have taken hold of the problem of the tenement,

Laws protecting the home

and laws have been passed, prohibiting the building of dwellings without sufficient space around them to admit light and air, requiring good sanitation, and forbidding the overcrowding of people in a single building. Unfortunately these laws are violated, and the government frequently fails to enforce them. In the smaller cities, where such conditions have not become sufficiently apparent to attract notice, there are often very few laws upon the subject. It is in these cities that especial care should be taken to prevent the growth of dangerous tenements, by the enactment of preventive laws.

It is not merely the character of the dwelling, however, that is of concern to the community. In recent years many laws have been enacted to protect the breadwinners of families against accident or the contracting of disease in their occupations; to shorten the hours of labor, so that workmen may have more leisure time for recreation and self-improvement; to reduce the hardships of women's

work; to abolish child labor; to secure the payment of just wages so as to assure a proper standard of living; and in other ways to insure a better home life as the foundation of a wholesome community life and of good citizenship.

It is not to be supposed that unwholesome family life is restricted wholly to the homes of the poor. Some of the worst homes are occasionally found in surroundings of luxury. Unless the relations between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between brothers and sisters, are of the right kind, the home will be imperfect, even though it be sheltered in a beautiful dwelling; and it will fail to perform its best service to the community.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Do most of the people in your neighborhood own their homes, or do they rent? Can you give illustrations to show that home owners take a greater interest in the community than those who rent?

2. Is there some section of your community where most of the people own their homes, and another section where most of the people rent? If so, do you notice any difference in the general appearance of the two sections? Do you think that the difference, if any, is due in any part to the fact that some of the people own and some rent?

3. In the back of the book (page 299) there is a table showing the number of homes owned and the number rented in the cities of the United States having 100,000 population or over.

a. Find the city having the smallest per cent of homes owned. How do you account for the small per cent in this city?

b. Find cities having large per cents of homes owned. Can you account for this from what you know of these cities?

c. Can you account for the fact that Washington, D.C., has such a large per cent of rented homes?

d. Find out for what Fall River, Mass., is noted. Do you think there is any relation between this fact and the large number of hired homes?

e. Find the figures of your own city, if it is in the table, or the nearest one to you, and compare it with other cities of about the same size.

4. Observe the character of the homes (dwellings, yards, gardens), as you pass from the center of your city to its outskirts. Is there any difference in their appearance? If so, why is it?

5. Is there any tendency for farmers' families in your neighborhood to move to the city? If so, try to find the reasons for it. What becomes of their farms when the families move away?

6. Is there any tendency for families in the city to move toward the outskirts of the city, or to the suburbs? If so, why? Is it chiefly the poorer people or the well-to-do? What happens to their old dwellings in the center of the city?

7. Are flats and apartment buildings being erected to any extent in your community? If so, try to find the causes. What are some of the effects on family life of dwelling in flats?

8. What is being done in your community to improve the home life of the poorest families?

9. Can you think of any public institutions in your community that are made necessary by imperfect conditions of home life?

10. If there is no law forbidding it, has a man the right to make all the money he can by crowding as many tenants into a house as it will hold? Explain.

11. Show how good home life tends to decrease the need for government.

12. Are there any tenement-house laws in your community? If so, what are some of the most important?

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A Tenement Back Yard.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAKING OF AMERICANS

NEXT to the ties of family relationship, those of common nationality and language are perhaps the strongest in binding people together in groups. Americans in foreign cities usually drift together and take lodgings in the same locality. When foreigners come to this country, they tend to group themselves together according to their nationality or language. This kind of grouping may assume great importance in a country like ours, where many thousands of foreigners are pouring in upon us every year.

The bond of nationality

America has always been a land of opportunity, and millions of people have come here from foreign lands for the purpose of bettering their condition. Some have come, like the Pilgrims of Plymouth, for religious freedom. Others have come, like the founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony, for political freedom. Many more have come merely to better their material welfare. Thousands are coming every year because here work is plentiful, and the opportunity is great to earn, not merely a living, but land and a home with comforts that were impossible in their native lands. In the ten years from 1901 to 1910, 8,795,386 immigrants entered the United States, and in the three years following (1911–13) almost 3,000,000 more arrived.[1] Among them are representatives of every country of Europe and many from other lands.

The foreign element in the United States

[1] See Appendix, pp. 300–304, Tables of Immigration.

The tendency of these incoming foreigners is to drift to sections of the United States, or of the large cities, where large numbers of their countrymen have already made their homes. There are sections of the states of the Northwest, for example, where almost the entire population is Scandinavian, as in parts of Minnesota. In other states we may often find large farming communities of Scotch or of Germans, as in parts of

Distribution of foreigners

IMMIGRANTS AWAITING INSPECTION AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR.

Illinois and Pennsylvania. In some of the coal-mining regions, as in western Pennsylvania and in West Virginia, there is a large population from the Slavic countries of central and eastern Europe. Manufacturing towns often have

large populations of some one nationality, like the Belgian glass-workers in some parts of Indiana. In cities, where many foreigners settle, they usually arrange themselves by nationality in different sections of the city. Thus we find in New York a section occupied almost exclusively by Italians, another by Chinese, another by Greeks, another by Jews, and so on.

Foreign groups within the nation tend to act as units

These different nationalities not only tend to live in groups, but they also think and act in groups. It is very common to hear at election time of the "German vote" and the "Irish vote." There are also differences in ideas of thrift and industry, in forms of architecture, in home life, and in many other ways. One section of a city may be thrifty and law-abiding because of the habits of the nationality occupying it, while another section will be unsightly and disorderly.

The United States a nation of foreigners

There might be great danger to the peace and unity of the United States through the immigration of so many foreigners, if they actually remained for any length of time as distinct national groups within our country. But this is not usually the case. Most of these immigrants begin a process of transformation from Germans, Irish, Poles, or whatever their nationality, into Americans, almost as soon as they have landed. We are a nation of foreigners. Many Americans do not have to go back very far until they find some ancestor just immigrating into this country from a foreign land. The hundreds of thousands who are coming to our shores this year will, in the course of a few years, be proud of the name of American; and their children, born here, will not be distinguishable from the great mass of Americans. This breaking down of the differences between the nationalities within our

The growth of common interests

AN IMMIGRANT FAMILY.

country is due to the growth of common interests among all who live here. All came here for greater freedom of religion, of political belief, of labor. Our government allows to all equal opportunities and equal rights.

Change in type of immigration

In recent years there has been a great change in the character of the immigration to this country. Formerly most of our immigrants came from northern and western Europe — the British Islands, Scandinavia, Germany. At present the countries of southern and eastern Europe are sending us the great multitudes — Russia, Poland, Italy, Greece (see tables, pp. 300–302). These southern and eastern peoples differ greatly from the northern and western peoples in physical appearance and in language, thus making more difficult the blending of the population. They also differ in their social and political experience, in their industrial skill and

standards of living. The majority of them are unskilled laborers. A much smaller percentage remain in this country to establish homes than is the case with the earlier immigrants. They are also more slow to become legal citizens.

What the immigrant brings with him

On the other hand, it is well to remember that mere difference of language and customs by no means implies inferiority of character or ability. It sometimes happens that immigrants who have difficulty in finding suitable occupations, or who are forced to take the work of day laborers to earn their living, are perhaps skilled in some special vocation, or talented in music or art, but are prevented from finding their proper places merely through ignorance of *our* language and customs. They come from countries whose histories are much longer than ours and often represent civilizations in many respects richer than our own. The great majority of those who enter come with the same noble desire for liberty that inspired the early colonists. In our pride in our own country and its people, its language and its institutions, we must not underestimate the value of what the immigrant may bring to us. While hastening in every possible way the adjustment of the immigrant to the spirit of American life, we should, in turn, respect the heritage that he brings with him and profit by the good that he has to offer. Not only is he to be made into an American; he is also to help make America.

Classes of immigrants excluded

There are certain classes of foreigners whom our government does not permit to enter, or who may be returned to their native countries if they succeed in landing by eluding the vigilance of the immigration officers. Idiots or insane persons, persons afflicted with dangerous contagious diseases, paupers and professional beggars, persons who for any reason are unable

to care for themselves and are likely to become a public charge, criminals, grossly immoral persons, persons brought over under contract to perform any kind of labor, are the principal classes excluded. During the year ending June, 1913, 19,605 such persons were prevented from landing, and 3,461 were sent back after having landed.

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U. S. IMMIGRANT STATION, ELLIS ISLAND.
View from an aeroplane.

In 1882 Congress passed a law known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. This is the only case in which our government has excluded a nationality. The chief reason for it in this case is that the Chinese fail to become Americanized in any degree. They remain a completely foreign community on American shores, widely different in race, language, and habits, while they supplant American laborers on the farms, in the mines, and in other occupations through their willingness to work for lower wages.

Should immigration be further restricted? And, if so, by what means? In 1907 an Immigration Commission of nine members was created by Congress to make a thorough study of the problem. In its report the Commission said, "While the American

Further restriction

people, as in the past, welcome the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigration be such both in quality and quantity as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation." One of the methods most often suggested to keep out undesirable immigrants is to exclude all who cannot read or write in some language. Other methods proposed are to increase the "head tax" that each immigrant is required to pay on entering, to increase the amount of money that each immigrant must have in his possession when he lands, or to exclude all unskilled laborers who are not accompanied by their wives or families.

Distribution of immigrants

To hasten the process of "assimilation," it is also important that the immigrants should be distributed through the country where their services are most needed and where their own opportunities for success are greatest. The crowding of large numbers of immigrants in colonies in the large cities not only makes our own city problems more difficult, but it also makes it more difficult for the immigrants themselves to obtain desirable homes and occupations, and retards their assimilation with the American people. The United States Bureau of Immigration, in coöperation with the state governments, is seeking to distribute the immigrants to the best advantage of themselves and of the nation.

Naturalization

The Constitution of the United States says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside" (Amendment XIV). In order to become legal citizens of the United States, therefore, persons born in foreign countries must go through the process of naturalization. They must have lived in the United States at

least five years and in the state one year, and must have declared, before a court, their intention of becoming citizens at least two years before their citizenship papers are given to them. They must also prove good character and declare their intention of observing the principles of the Constitution. They then have all the rights of native-born citizens, except that they may not hold the office of President or Vice-President.

Women may be naturalized as well as men; but a woman becomes a citizen without naturalization when her husband is naturalized, or when she marries a citizen. Children under twenty-one years of age also become legal citizens by the naturalization of their parents. On the other hand, children born abroad of parents who are citizens of the United States are citizens of the United States in spite of their foreign birth.

The privilege of naturalization has not been extended to members of the Mongolian race.

Persons of foreign birth who have not been naturalized are known as *aliens*. There are several millions of aliens residing in our country. They enjoy almost, although not quite, all the privileges of citizens. They are entitled to full protection of their lives and property by our government; they may move freely about the country and engage in business; they are entitled to all the privileges of the state courts, and to some privileges of the national courts; they have freedom of religious belief. In some states there are restrictions against the holding of real estate by aliens; but many states allow it and by the Homestead Act (see page 48) Congress has given millions of acres to them. In some states aliens may even vote for state and national officers after having declared their intention of becoming citizens.

Aliens

In the development of our great country, with its vast areas of land to be reduced to the use of man, and with its abundant resources of all kinds, it has always been considered desirable that foreigners should come to our land to make it their home. But it is plain that if they are to be valuable members of our community, they must have or acquire full sympathy with our American ideas. They must become blended with the mass of Americans among whom they live, and become Americans themselves, not merely in dress and language, but in their spirit and principles. Down to the present time this blending has gone on easily and rapidly, because the great mass of the population has always been native born. With the increasing tide of immigration from foreign lands the problem becomes more serious, and calls for greater caution on the part of government as to the admission of immigrants. Most of those who come will undoubtedly make excellent citizens. But there are many who will contribute nothing to our welfare, and some who will even antagonize the law and order which are so necessary in a community.

It is necessary that the foreigners be transformed into Americans

It is necessary that every means be adopted to instruct those who come to our land in the ideals of American citizenship, and to make of them not merely partakers of our liberty, but contributors to our community welfare. The school performs an important service in this direction. It not only instructs the children of foreigners in the English language, United States history, and other subjects that acquaint them with American ideas, but by bringing them in constant association with American children the school hastens the adoption of American ways. Thus these children of foreigners are rapidly transformed into Americans.

The influence of the public school

The very nature of the American government tends to destroy all differences of nationality. It is a fundamental idea of our government that there are certain political rights and privileges held by all in common, which it is the business of the government to protect. Our government is a strong bond of union, not because it holds us together in a forced union, but because we all have an equal interest and share in its benefits and responsibilities.

The influence of government

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Let each pupil in the class fill in the following blank. Tabulate the results for the whole class on the blackboard, in order to show the blending of nationalities in the present class:

TABLE SHOWING NATIONALITY OF

Father ——— { Father's father ———
Father's mother ——— } Father's grandparents { ———, ———, ———, ———

Mother ——— { Mother's father ———
Mother's mother ——— } Mother's grandparents { ———, ———, ———, ———

2. Make a list of the different nationalities to be found in your community. Do any of these nationalities tend to form groups by themselves? If so, show on a map of your community how this grouping has taken place.

3. Is there any farming community in your neighborhood composed entirely of some one nationality? Are there any industries in your community in which the workmen are wholly or largely of some foreign nationality?

4. Do any of the foreign nationalities in your community tend to act as units (*i.e.* the Irish by themselves, the Italians by themselves) in politics, in religious matters, or in business?

5. Are there any communities in your state composed largely of some one foreign nationality? Where are they? Why did these foreigners settle there? What are their occupations?

6. Gather some facts regarding the number of immigrants to this country, their nationalities, their character and conditions, their distribution through the country and in cities. (See immigration tables in the appendix, page 301; and for further details, see also the references below.)

7. Debate the question: Foreign immigration should be further restricted by the United States.

8. Debate the question: The Chinese should be allowed free admission to the United States as in the case of other foreigners.

9. Do you think it is right that aliens should be allowed to vote, as in some states of the Union? Why?

10. Look up the subject of fraudulent naturalization. (See Mayo-Smith, "Emigration and Immigration," pp. 83–85; Hall, "Immigration," pp. 192–197.)

11. Why would the persons excluded by the methods mentioned on page 42 be "undesirable" immigrants?

12. In the table, pages 301–303, note the number of each nationality departing from this country as compared with the number entering. Which nationalities show the largest per cent remaining? What reasons can you suggest for the large numbers departing?

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CHAPTER VIII

HOW THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND ARE MADE PERMANENT AND DEFINITE

One of the things that distinguish civilized men from savages is the fixed and permanent character of their communities. Travelers through the unbroken wilderness of America before its settlement by white men reported that they saw many deserted villages. The hunting life of the Indians made a fixed dwelling place undesirable, if not impossible. Their organization into clans and tribes made it of little importance whether they lived in one place or another. In civilized communities, on the other hand, the land is divided into wards, and townships, and counties, and states; and citizens have certain rights and duties which they can enjoy, or exercise, only in that division of the land where they live permanently. In the development of man, every step that united him more closely with the land was a step in the direction of civilization, as when he passed from the life of the hunter to that of the herdsman, or from the life of the herdsman to that of the farmer.

Civilization marked by permanence of communities

The community described in the first chapter did not pitch its tents with the idea of soon moving on. It made arrangements to become a permanent community with definite boundaries and divisions of land (see page 3). A community grows and prospers in proportion as the people and the land unite definitely and permanently.

Permanence aimed at in founding a community

The family helps to bring about this union in a very important way through the building of a home (see page 29).

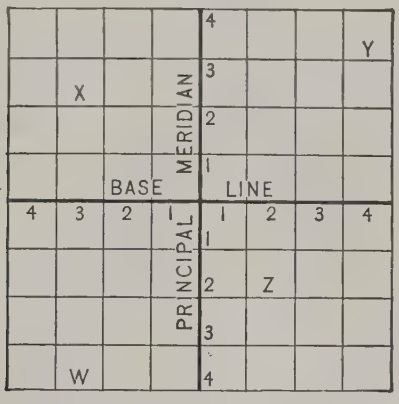
The service of the family in this respect

When the European nations were attempting to colonize America, many of the first settlements failed, chiefly because the settlers were adventurers who had no intention of building homes here. It soon became apparent to the English that if they were to have permanent settlements in this country, it would be necessary to induce men to bring their families and found permanent homes.

The settlement of the national domain

In the course of its history our nation has come into possession of vast territories that would be useless if they were not occupied by a population that would develop their resources. Our government has hastened the occupation of this land by appealing to men's desire to own homes. To the men who fought in the Revolutionary War the government gave about 10,000,000 acres of land for settlement, and to the veterans of the Mexican War 60,000,000 acres, or about as much as is comprised in the two states of Indiana and Illinois. In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Act, which provided that any head of a family might receive a quarter-section of land (160 acres) if he would live on it for five years and pay a small fee. Under this law about 200,000,000 acres have been disposed of for settlement, or nearly as much as the land included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. Besides this, large areas have been sold to individuals at the low price of from $1.25 to $2.50 per acre. Not only farming land, but land rich in timber and minerals has thus been made productive. More than 150,000,000 acres have been given by the government to some of the great Western railroads, which have performed a valuable service in

opening and developing the new lands. The nation has been enriched, while at the same time individuals, families, and business enterprises have been benefited. In 1913 there were in the United States, not including Alaska and our new island possessions, 297,927,203 acres of land still open to settlement.

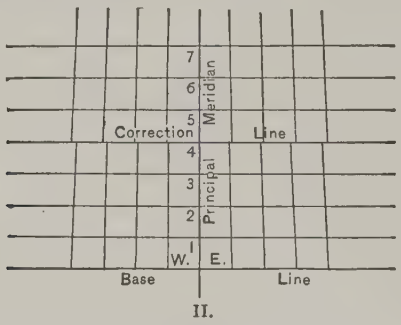


I. X is township 3 north in range 3 west
Y " " 4 " " " 4 east
Z " " 2 south " " 2 "
W " " 4 " " " 3 west.

After the Revolutionary War settlers began to enter the Ohio Valley and claim land for farms. Each settler laid out his own farm with little regard to the claims of others. The result was great confusion and many disputes over boundary lines. The government finally put an end to this state of affairs by making a survey of the whole region and establishing lines by means of which land could be located with certainty. The accompanying diagrams will help to make clear the plan. The survey was begun by establishing certain north and south lines called *principal meridians*. There

The government survey

are now twenty-four of these, the first being the line that separates Ohio from Indiana. The last runs through Oregon. At intervals of six miles east and west of the principal meridians were established other meridians called *range lines*. A parallel of latitude across this country was then chosen as a *base line*, and at intervals



II.

of six miles north and south of the base line other lines were established called *township lines*. Thus the country was divided into *townships*, six miles square. These townships were then numbered east or west from a principal meridian, and north or south from the base line. Since the meridians converge as we go north (see globe), the townships would not be exactly square, but would become smaller as we go toward the pole. To correct this, certain parallels north and south of the base line were chosen as correction lines from which the survey began again, as from the base line. Each township was divided into *sections* one mile square, which therefore contained 640 acres. These sections were numbered in each township from 1 to 36. Each section is divided into halves and quarters. The farm of each settler may be located exactly by means of this survey, and his boundaries are recorded in the offices of the government so that there can be no possible dispute over

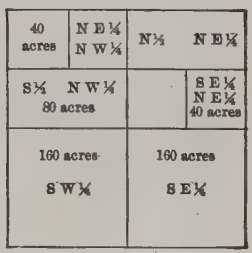
them. In cities the land is further subdivided into *lots* which are also numbered and recorded. Definiteness and permanence are thus secured.

A great deal of the land of the nation remains unsettled. This is called public land. Some of it, in its natural condition, is unfit for settlement because of its barren or swampy character. The national government is reclaiming much of the arid land of the West to man's use. In 1902 Congress created the Reclamation Service. It has constructed reservoirs and a net-work of

Public Land

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	a 8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

III A Township Showing Sections. (36 square miles.) Suppose this to be township X in diagram I. Then the section named a is section 8 of township 3 north in range 3 west.



IV. A Section (640 acres) Suppose this to be section a of diagram III.

Then the 160 acres in the lower right-hand corner is the southeast ¼ of section 8 of township 3 north in range 3 west. The 40 acres marked NE ¼ NW ¼ is the northeast ¼ of the northwest ¼ of section 8 of township 3 north in range 3 west.

canals by which the water from distant streams has been conducted through the arid regions, transforming them into productive farm lands, which have been thrown open to settlement. By 1913, 1,200,000 acres had been reclaimed by this system of irrigation.

Another part of the public land consists of the national forests, of which there were one hundred and sixty-three in 1913, embracing 186,616,648 acres.

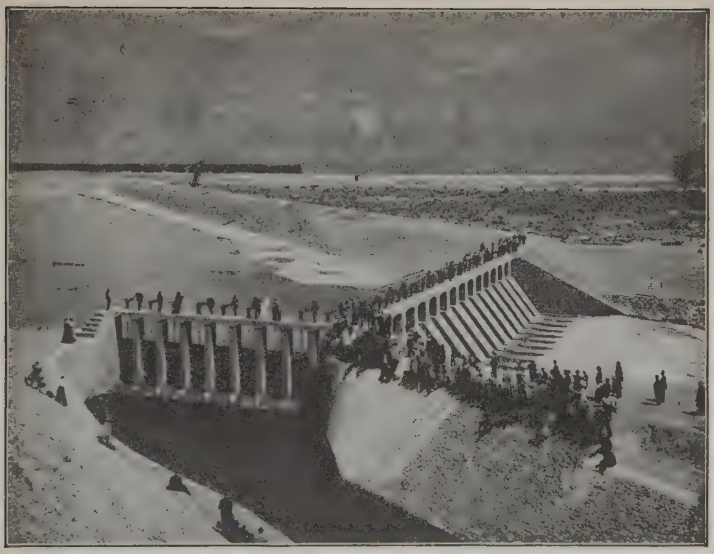
The right of the citizen to be secure in his property is held very sacred in the United States; but when the interests of the individual conflict with those of the community, the former have to yield. The government may control the way in which a citizen uses his land. It may say to him, "You must

Government control of private property

TERRACE IRRIGATION, CALIFORNIA.

keep your premises clean, so as not to endanger the health of the community" (chapter IX). Or, "Within certain limits you shall not erect wooden buildings, because of the danger to the community from fire" (chapter X). It may prohibit some kinds of business in certain parts of the community if they would interfere with safety or comfort, as in the case of saloons.

If the interests of the whole community demand it, the



DIVERSION DAM ON TRUCKEE RIVER, NEVADA.

When the gates in the dam are shut, the river below the dam becomes dry, and the water is diverted through the headgates into the canal in the foreground.

TRUCKEE IRRIGATION CANAL, NEVADA.

The canal is cement-lined and during the irrigating season carries the entire flow of the Truckee River thirty miles into the valley of the Carson River, the flow of which it supplements, and is then led by ditches over the land.

government may even take away the land of a citizen and devote it to public uses. This is called the *right of eminent domain.* For example, if the national government wishes to build a post office, it may *condemn* the property of private citizens, and remove all buildings. The state has the same right and permits

The right of eminent domain

FURROW IRRIGATION, ARIZONA.

cities, counties, and townships to exercise it. Thus, if the interests of the community call for a new street, it may be constructed through the property of individuals, even to the extent of removing buildings. So, also, a road may be built through a man's farm by the county government. The state also grants the exercise of the right of eminent domain to railroads, because of the important public service rendered by them. In exercising the right of eminent domain a very important condition must be complied with: *the citizen must be paid a just amount for his property.* The Constitution of the United States provides, "nor shall private property be taken for public use without just com-

pensation" (Amendment V, last clause). If a dispute arises between the citizen and the government (or the railroad) over the price of the land, the matter may be brought before a court for settlement.

The granting of franchises

Communities may grant the use of their highways to private corporations that render important public service, such as street railways, telephone and telegraph companies, and water and gas companies. The right to use public land in this way is called a *franchise*. In return for the privileges of a franchise the corporation must render definite services to the community, such as supplying light of a good quality, water that is pure, street-car service that can be depended upon. The government in granting the franchise is acting solely for the community, and should look carefully after the community's welfare. Unfortunately the officers of the government do not always do their duty in this matter, and franchises are granted that benefit a few individuals without securing due advantage to the community (see chapter XIII).

Political divisions of the land

It was said in the first paragraph of this chapter that our rights and duties as citizens are determined largely by our place of residence. Citizens of the United States have certain political rights, such as voting and holding office, and certain duties, such as paying taxes. These rights may be enjoyed, and the duties performed, only within certain districts which the government creates for this purpose. Were it not for this restriction, unutterable confusion would exist. Thus a citizen has the right to vote within the state where he lives but not in any other state. The boundaries of the states are established by the national government (except the original thirteen states of the Union, whose boundaries

were fixed before the national government was organized); but they may not be changed afterward without the consent of the state. The states organize themselves into counties and townships.[1] Villages and cities are granted definite boundaries by the state government, and organize themselves into wards and precincts. There are also congressional, judicial, and revenue districts, the boundaries of which are fixed by the governments of the states or nation. Residence in any of these districts carries with it duties and rights that the citizen does not have elsewhere.

The widely varied topics of this chapter illustrate the numerous ways in which our national, state and local governments serve us by giving permanence and definiteness to our relations with the land we occupy, and by securing to the community and to the citizen the largest possible benefits from the land.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What were the original boundaries of the town or city in which you live? How was the original town laid out? On a map of your city mark the original city limits.
2. Whence does the city get its authority to add to its territory?
3. Report on the coming of the first important factories to your community, and show how they gave permanence to the community.
4. Report on the coming of the first railroad to your community, and its effect on the permanence and growth of the community.
5. Are there any business associations in your community that aid citizens in obtaining homes of their own, such as Building and Loan Associations? If so, report how they operate.
6. Find out from a real estate agent, or in some other way, how a piece of land in your community is laid off into lots.
7. Make a map of your county, showing townships.

[1] In the West this *political township* usually corresponds with the township surveyed by the national government. See pages 49–50.

8. Find out in what range your township is with reference to the nearest principal meridian. Also, what is the number of your township from the base line? (These facts may be learned from the map of the United States, published by the U. S. Land Office, and mentioned below.)

9. If you live in a city, try to locate the lot in which you dwell by lot number, section, township, etc. (See the deed giving title to the property, or the records in the county clerk's office, or in the office of the city engineer.)

10. Report more fully upon the Homestead Law. (See references.)

11. Do you know any instance of the exercise of the right of eminent domain in your community? Explain.

12. What are some of the ways in which the government regulates the use of the land you live on?

13. Make a list of the lands owned by government in your community, and state whether they belong to nation, state, or local community.

14. Describe the ward divisions of your city. How were they laid out? How may their boundaries be changed?

15. Are there any forest or park reservations in your state? If so, what is their purpose? Locate them. Do they belong to state or nation?

16. Report on what has been done in the reclaiming of desert lands in the West or in your state by irrigation. (See references.)

17. Has any land been given to your state by the national government for purposes other than schools? If so, what?

REFERENCES

A map of the United States published by the U. S. Land Office, which can be secured for $1.00, shows the government survey of the Western lands, including principal meridians, base lines, and township and range lines. It also shows forest and Indian reservations, lighthouses and life-saving stations, and other matters useful in the study.

County and city maps are usually available at the city and county offices, if nowhere else. Such maps should be in each civics classroom.

Reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

"Vacant Public Lands in the United States," Circular No. 259, General Land Office, Department of the Interior, 1913.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Reclamation Service, Department of the Interior, 1912–13.

Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1912–13.

"The Nation's Undeveloped Resources," by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in the *National Geographic Magazine*, February, 1914.

The "New International Encyclopedia" and the "Encyclopedia Americana" are excellent for looking up topics of national importance, such as Irrigation, Public Lands, Homestead Act. These encyclopedias will be of use throughout the study.

Hart's "Actual Government" has an excellent chapter on Land and Landholding, including a discussion of private, corporate, and government landholding, the public lands, the government survey, the Homestead Act. This book is most valuable as a book for the teacher's desk, and will be found to cover practically every topic, local, state, or national, referred to in this text-book.

On the subject of irrigation the following are good:

The *Pacific Monthly*, September, 1906. Contains a series of articles explaining the work of the United States Reclamation Service in the various irrigation districts of the West.

"An Object Lesson in Irrigation," *Review of Reviews*, 31: 701 (1905).

"The Winning of the Desert," *Outing*, 45: 545 (1905).

"The Government as a Homemaker," *The World To-day*, 10: 156 (1906).

"Reclamation," *Outlook*, 83: 933 (1906).

'Uncle Sam's Romance with Science and the Soil," *Arena*, 35: 36.

See also "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature."

CHAPTER IX

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN TO SATISFY HIS DESIRE FOR HEALTH

COMMUNITIES have developed through the efforts of men to satisfy their desires (see chapter IV). In so far as the community provides for the wants of its citizens, it is a good community; if it fails to provide for any of them, it is an imperfect community, and the lives of the citizens will be incomplete. The desire for health is the first to be provided for.

The protection of health in the family

In the conditions in which the pioneer family lived, life and health were almost wholly dependent upon the efforts and the arrangements of the family itself. With the clearing of the wilderness and the advance of civilization, the preservation of life and health has become much less simple and direct. Not that the responsibility of the family has decreased in any way: it has rather become greater; but the health of the individual has become dependent upon so many things outside of the family that the latter alone cannot provide fully for it.

New dangers arise with the growth of communities

With the growth of the community, while the dangers peculiar to the wilderness have disappeared, new ones have arisen to beset the life and health of the citizen. Streams that were originally clear and sparkling, supplying fish for food and water to drink, when passing through the crowded settlements of men become impure with the refuse of factories and the sewage of dwellings. They then pour

1. A section of the canal cut through solid rock.

2. A section of the canal where it passes from the solid rock to the soft earth.

3. The Chicago Drainage Canal.

THREE VIEWS OF THE CHICAGO DRAINAGE CANAL.

forth vile odors and disease germs. The drinking water from wells and streams becomes unsafe. With the increase of population the danger of epidemics of disease increases. Impure and unwholesome food is sold in the markets and over the counters of the stores. Wild beasts and savages are no longer to be feared; but unprotected railroad crossings, rapidly running trolley cars and automobiles, poorly constructed buildings and elevators, burning buildings, and robbers and thugs, constantly threaten the life of the unwary. In the crowded cities a vigorous outdoor life is wanting. Men, women, and children grow pale and sickly because of indoor occupations, lack of exercise, and the breathing of air vitiated by smoke and foul odors. Whatever disadvantages the country child may suffer from an isolated life, his chances for a sound and healthy body, a most priceless possession, are generally greater than the city child's.

As the community grows and the people become busy with their various callings, it becomes necessary to arrange for systematic protection, and to center the responsibility for it upon some designated person or group of persons. With the organization of a government, it is given supervision over the health arrangements. In the community described in the first chapter, the trustees of the town were assigned the duty of "securing the general health of the inhabitants," and of "keeping in repair the drains and sewers." When the stream which ran through the town became clogged with sawdust from the mill, the trustees appointed a committee of one to investigate. He reported and pledged himself, "should mildness and good nature fail, to lend a hand in applying the strong arm of the law." Again, a little later, information was received of the

Government is given charge over the health arrangements

approach of a band of Swedish immigrants afflicted with cholera. Aid was sent to them, but they were warned not to enter the town, and an appeal was published in the little newspaper urging all to "use every means to avert the impending danger. Let your premises be thoroughly cleansed and purified. Remove everything that will tend to invite disease." A *board of health* was soon created, and a *commissioner of health* was appointed who was to have general supervision over the sanitation of the town and report to the board for action. A *health policeman* was also appointed. He inspected drains, sinks, and cellars in private houses, and fruits and meats in the markets. A *city physician* was appointed to care for the sick among the poor, and was paid by the community for his services. In large cities the officers who have supervision of the health arrangements are more numerous than in the smaller communities, and their duties are more extensive. They are all usually under the direction of the board of health.

Sewers and water supply

With the growth of a community the separate and inadequate drains of individual householders soon give way to an extensive system of sewers underlying all the streets, connections being made with every lot and house in the city. Here the natural slope and drainage of the community become very important, because they determine the ease and effectiveness with which the sewage can be carried away. Sometimes it is drained into a stream that runs through or near the city. This is dangerous to health unless the stream is converted into a closed sewer or is kept purified in some way. In Chicago the sewage is drained into the Chicago River, and thus, until recently, was carried into Lake Michigan, whence the people draw their supply of drinking water. The result was a great deal of

sickness, such as typhoid fever. The river also was a menace to health, because it was a foul-smelling and disease-breeding stream. Chemists were employed by the city to examine the drinking water and report its condition in the newspapers each day. The more careful families boiled all water used for drinking. But in spite of these pre-

FILTER BEDS OF THE INDIANAPOLIS WATER WORKS.

Water from White River is brought to these beds, where it is filtered through layers of sand, gravel, and perforated tile. See next illustration.

cautions thousands of people were made sick, and many died each year as a result of drinking this bad water. This situation was greatly improved by the construction of a drainage canal which carries the water of the Chicago River into the Illinois River, and thence into the Mississippi, instead of allowing it to flow into the lake. This effectually disposes of the sewage of the city, keeps the river flushed and pure, and prevents the lake from being contaminated.

A few years ago an epidemic of typhoid fever appeared in an Eastern city, resulting in the death of a great

many people and the sickness of many more. A careful inspection disclosed the fact that there had been a case of typhoid fever in a family living near the reservoir from which the city drew its water supply, and that this family had not been careful in the disposal of its sewage. The ground about the house had become infected with the disease, and heavy rains had carried the disease germs into

FILTER BED OF THE INDIANAPOLIS WATER WORKS

This view shows the bed in process of construction: at the bottom a layer of perforated tile, and upon this a layer of gravel is being placed. Upon this will be a layer of sand.

the reservoir. This case illustrates the important connection between the drainage, the water supply, and the health of a community. It illustrates also the heavy responsibility of the individual citizen and family for the welfare of the whole community. The larger the community, the greater is the problem of preserving health.

The most important precaution against disease is cleanliness. This is a matter that must be looked after principally in the home. If each family would take proper precautions to secure cleanliness and plenty of

Cleanliness

fresh air, not only would the problem of disease in the community be largely solved, but the expense of government would be greatly decreased. Because of the failure of the family and of the individual citizen to do their part, the community, through its government, enacts ordinances to compel people to keep their premises clean and their drains in proper condition. Ordinances usually exist to prevent the filthy and dangerous practice of spitting in public places. This practice is one of the most effective means of spreading some of the worst diseases, such as tuberculosis or consumption, and the ordinances to prevent it are among the most important enacted by our city governments. Unfortunately they are also among those most seldom enforced and most often violated. Here is one of the cases where constant and concerted action on the part of all cleanly and well-informed persons is necessary to secure the enforcement of the law.

Street cleaning and smoke inspection

Every city has its street-cleaning department, which does not always do its work as well as it should. In large cities it consists of an army of men, with horses and wagons and suitable machinery for sweeping and cleansing the streets and alleys. These men are under the supervision of a board or a commissioner, acting under the authority of the government (see chapter XXII). There are also *smoke inspectors*, whose work is important in keeping the atmosphere pure. If the stoking of the furnaces in factories and large buildings is done properly, the smoke nuisance can be greatly lessened. There are smoke consumers which aid in the consumption of the smoke that is otherwise poured out of the chimneys over the community; but the expense and trouble of putting them in prevents many men from doing so. The community should insist, however, that the smoke

nuisance be removed as far as possible, not only because it is detrimental to health, but also because it mars the beauty of the city.

Of great importance in large cities is the system of parks provided for the recreation of the people. In small towns parks are not of such great importance from the standpoint of health; but in crowded cities every breathing place, where fresh, pure air and grass and trees can be found and enjoyed by the people, is of untold value. One of the best of the charitable works in large cities is that by which thousands of poor children are sent to the country or the seashore, or to "fresh-air farms," during the summer months. This is doing much to lessen the death rate and the sickness in the crowded tenement districts. In the rapid growth of American cities not enough care has been taken to provide for parks. Provision should be made in all growing cities to leave spaces that may be converted into beautiful and refreshing parks as need arises. In some cities playgrounds are being established and provided with tennis courts, ball grounds, and gymnastic apparatus. The opening of school yards as playgrounds during vacation periods is a good practice that is growing.

Parks and playgrounds

Cities have hospitals, some supported by private organizations, such as churches, and some supported at public expense. The public hospitals are under the charge of physicians, surgeons, and nurses paid out of the public treasury. Precautions are taken against the spread of contagious diseases. The government has the right to declare a *quarantine* against a home, or even against a whole section of the city; this means that, in case of the existence of a contagious disease, the occupants of the dwelling or of the section of the city may be prevented from leaving it, and others prevented from

Hospitals; quarantine

A Municipal Playground

entering it. Physicians are required by law to report contagious disease to the health officers, who placard the house, proclaiming the existence of the disease. Persons in whose homes such diseases exist may be prevented from going about their ordinary business, and the children from going to school. Physicians sometimes grow careless about reporting such cases of sickness, and families, thinking solely of their own convenience, often try to conceal the presence of contagious disease in their homes. This is not good citizenship. Such families endanger the health of others. Much is being done in some of our cities to prevent the spread of disease by a systematic medical inspection in the schools.

Just as an individual, or a family, is dependent for health on other individuals and families in the neighborhood, so also a community is more or less dependent on other communities for its health. This is especially true in these days when the means of communication are so fully developed and when traveling is so common. Contagious diseases spread rapidly from town to town, and not infrequently cover large districts at the same time. When an epidemic of smallpox breaks out in one city, it is likely to appear in other cities, and even in the country districts. Any ship that enters our harbors may bring with it diseases from the slums of Europe or of Asia. When a factory pollutes the stream that runs by it with refuse, it threatens the health, not only of the immediate community in which it is situated, but also of other communities farther down the stream. When Chicago turned its sewage into the drainage canal, and thence into the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, cities and towns for many miles along these streams became very much alarmed, and St. Louis, which derives

Dependence of one community upon another for health

its drinking water from the Mississippi, brought suit in the courts against Chicago. Fortunately, in this case, it was proved that the water becomes freed from impurities, by contact with the air, before it reaches these other cities. Our community life is very complicated, and it is not always easy to foresee how the actions of one individual or community may affect the lives of others.

Necessity for state supervision over health

On account of this interdependence in matters pertaining to health, it is not safe to leave their regulation wholly to each separate community, any more than to leave it to each separate family. The common interests of all the communities within a given area must be guarded by some common authority. Hence the state, through its government, makes provision for the health of all the people subject to its laws. There is a *state board of health* which has supervision over these matters. The state government endeavors to prevent the pollution of the streams. Laws are enacted to prevent the adulteration of foods. A state government may declare a quarantine against neighboring states when contagious diseases are prevalent. In former days, when yellow fever appeared in New Orleans, the surrounding states often refused to allow passengers on the railways to enter from Louisiana except after the most rigid medical inspection. City, county, and township governments, in their regulation of matters pertaining to health, must conform to the broader regulations of the state.

While the protection of the health of citizens is left almost entirely in the hands of the state and local governments, there are some things that can be better looked after by the national government, because they are of national interest. All immigrants from foreign countries are required to undergo a medical inspection before they

A WADING POOL IN A MUNICIPAL PLAYGROUND.

The building contains gymnasiums, baths, refreshment rooms, reading rooms, and lecture rooms. All are furnished by the city government.

are allowed to land. If signs of disease are found, the passengers of the ship may be quarantined until the danger of contagion is past. Immigrants who are in such physical condition that they are unable to care for themselves, and would therefore be a burden on the community, are required to return to the country from which they came. In a recent session of Congress laws were passed providing for the inspection of meats put up in the packing houses of the country, and to prevent the adulteration of foods with injurious materials. Since the product of a great packing or canning establishment is sent all over the country, its purity is a matter of national interest, and therefore is a proper subject for regulation by the national government.

What the national government does for the health of citizens

The engineers and medical staff of the United States army have done much in recent years to prevent loss of life through the ravages of disease. Not only have they found ways to prevent epidemics of typhoid fever and other diseases that formerly prevailed in military camps and destroyed more soldiers' lives than were lost in battle, but they have even caused such dread diseases as smallpox and yellow fever to disappear almost completely from regions occupied by our army, as in Cuba, Panama, and the Philippines. This has been done in part by better sanitary arrangements, in part by discovering how such diseases were carried, as by mosquitoes or rats, and destroying the carriers, in part by medical discoveries that prevent people from contracting the diseases. This service of our army engineers and medical men has been of untold benefit to the entire world.

The community is thus doing a great deal, through government, to preserve the life and health of its citizens, and

it owes to each citizen a reasonable assurance that protection will be afforded. On the other hand, each citizen owes something to the community in this matter. As we have seen, the health of the whole community depends largely upon the cleanliness and watchfulness of each family. The responsibility of the citizen goes much further than this. He should do what he can to secure from the government the best possible service in these matters. If a man employs a watchman to guard his premises at night, and the watchman fails to do his duty, the owner will certainly call him to task, and will take every precaution against a repetition of the negligence. The people have a right to demand that their government watchmen do their work well, and to hold them accountable for every failure. It is unfortunate that the officials charged with important duties of government, even in such matters as protecting our lives and health, often become negligent and careless. They cannot be relieved of the blame for this. Yet their poor service is largely the fault of the citizens themselves, who do not take the trouble or the interest to inquire how their servants are doing their work, or to call them to account when it is badly done. Each citizen must constantly keep his eyes open, and endeavor to maintain a lively public sentiment in these matters by constant discussion. He should always be willing to call attention to any remissness in the enforcement of the laws. This is not merely a duty to others; his own welfare depends on it.

The responsibility of the citizen

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. When your community was first founded, were the geographical conditions favorable or unfavorable to health? As the community has grown, have these geographical conditions become more or less favorable? Explain.

2. How is health cared for in the average farmer's family? In a city family?

3. If there are any records available from which to gain the information, compare the means of protecting health in the early days of your community with the means used at present.

4. If you live in a rural community, what is done by the county and township governments for the protection of your health?

5. If there is a board of health in your city, of how many members does it consist? How is it chosen? What are its duties?

6. What officers are employed by the city for the protection of health? Report on their various duties.

7. Report on the street-cleaning department — what it does, what it costs, how it is managed, etc.

8. Report on the sewage system of your community. How is the sewage disposed of? Cost? Efficiency?

9. Report on the methods of disposing of garbage in different cities. What methods seem to be best? What method is used in your city?

10. Report on the water supply for drinking purposes. To what extent are private wells used? What is the source of the public water supply? Compare the purity of the water from private wells and from the public supply.

11. Do you know of any epidemic (such as typhoid fever) that has appeared in your community, and that was directly traceable to impure drinking water? To impure milk?

12. Report on means of keeping the atmosphere pure in your community.

13. What means are employed in your community to secure pure food?

14. Report on the park system of your community. How is it managed? Is anything being done to establish public playgrounds?

15. Is the ventilation of your school building good? Can you do anything yourself to improve it?

16. Write an essay on the subject, "The Relation of Athletics in the School to the Health of the Community."

17. Is there any kind of medical inspection in your school? If so, explain its working. Find out if there are any well-established cases where epidemics have been prevented or checked by school medical inspection in your community, or in other cities.

18. What are some of the ordinances in your community for the protection of health? Are any of these ordinances commonly violated? If so, why? Can you do anything to help secure the enforcement of such ordinances?

19. Report on the work of your state board of health. (So far as possible printed reports should be secured directly from the proper offices.)

20. What other state health officers are there? What is their work?

21. Look up the story of how our government waged war on disease in Cuba. What have been the results? Why should our national government interest itself in the matter? (The same may be done with reference to the Philippines or the Panama Canal Zone.)

22. Look up the story of the most recent war against yellow fever in our own Southern states. Was it carried on by the local, state, or national government? Why?

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Burks, J. D. and F. W., "Health and the School," Appletons (1913).

The last mentioned book contains a bibliography that will prove useful. The literature on public health is abundant. Reference should be made to the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature under the general headings of "Health," "Sanitation," etc., or under special headings such as "Street cleaning," "Food," etc.

The following will be useful:

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The Outlook, Dec. 7, 1912: "The Problem of National Health," by Earl Mayo.

Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1910: "Public Recreation Facilities." March, 1911: "The Public Health Movement."

National Geographic Magazine, March, 1914: "Redeeming the Tropics," by W. J. Showalter.

CHAPTER X

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN TO PROTECT HIS LIFE AND PROPERTY

One of the chief sources of danger to property, and often to life, is fire. The loss from fire in the United States every year averages about $170,000,000. Much of this might be avoided if each citizen were more careful; but fire is too powerful an enemy to be left to the individual or to the family to cope with, especially in cities. If a farmer's house or barn is burned, he himself, or some member of his family, is usually to blame for it, and he must depend on his own efforts to prevent the loss. In the city the safety of a citizen's home depends largely on his neighbors. Fire is an enemy that endangers the whole community; the whole community must unite for defense against it.

Danger from fire

In Philadelphia, in Benjamin Franklin's time, "each householder kept in his shop or his pantry a bucket and fourteen-foot swab; while the city provided hooks, ladders, and three rude engines of English make. At the first cry of fire the whole town was in excitement; the laborer quit his work, the apprentice dropped his tools, buyers and sellers swarmed from the market, and the shopkeeper, calling his wife to watch his goods, seized his bucket and hurried away. About the burning building all was confusion and disorder. No man was in authority. Each man did as he pleased. Some fell into line and helped to pass the full buckets from the pump to the engine, or the

Early methods of fire fighting

empty buckets from the engine to the pump; some caught up the hooks and pulled down blazing boards and shingles; some rushed into the building with their bags, and came out laden with household stuff." Franklin, who was always on the lookout for opportunities to improve the condition of his community, thought that "if so much could be done in a way so bad, a hundredfold more could be done if a little order were introduced." He aided in the organization of several fire companies equipped with the best apparatus of the times and working together under discipline, which greatly reduced the losses from fire in Philadelphia.

Volunteer fire companies

At one time the fire companies of cities were volunteer organizations, whose efficiency was kept up largely through the spirit of rivalry. Frequent tournaments were held in which the companies of the community, or of the neighboring towns, contested with each other in running, climbing ladders, and other feats. Such organizations may still be found in small communities.

Modern fire-fighting arrangements

In modern cities the fire-fighting arrangements are much more complicated and effective. Steam fire engines and elaborate apparatus of all kinds have been invented. Horses, trained until they show almost human intelligence, draw the engines and trucks to the fire at a run. A system of electric signals is in operation in every city, so that a fire can be announced instantly to the nearest fire station, and within a minute after the receipt of the signal the horses are going down the street at a gallop, with men and apparatus. The firemen are organized into permanent companies with perfect discipline, and are paid by the community. The whole department is under the direction of a chief, who is appointed by the mayor or by a board. The New York City fire department is the largest in the world and com-

prises about 5000 firemen, 1300 horses, 200 fire engines, more than 100 hook and ladder trucks, and several fire boats for the protection of property along the water front.

An important part of the means of protection against fire is a reliable water supply. At first private wells and cisterns supplied water for fires; then public cisterns were built at convenient points. Now every large city is supplied with water from some unfailing source. Cities on the Great Lakes, like Chicago, draw their water from them. Cincinnati and St. Louis receive theirs from the rivers on which they are situated. Inland cities sometimes get their water from deep wells. It is often necessary to provide storage reservoirs. The water is forced to every part of the city through pipes, and hydrants at the street corners or other convenient points serve for the attachment of hose. Waterworks are sometimes owned and operated by cities themselves, but usually by private companies which receive a franchise from the city.

The water supply

No department of the public service in cities is better organized or more efficient than the fire department. It has upon it a great responsibility, and the community will not be satisfied with anything but the greatest efficiency possible. The service requires men of intelligence, sobriety, courage, and endurance; men who are willing constantly to risk their lives for the good of all.

Efficiency of city fire departments

It has been said that seven eighths of the fires that occur are the result of a lack of proper precautions in building. That this is true is due, in part, to a lack of intelligence on the part of builders; in part to the willingness of men to take chances for the sake of cheapness. In either case the person responsible for poor construction of buildings is a

Faulty construction of buildings as a cause of loss from fires

menace to the community. A builder is showing good citizenship when he does his job well; poor citizenship, when he does it badly through ignorance, carelessness, or avarice.

Building ordinances

Communities try to protect themselves against loss of property and life from fire by means of laws regulating the materials used in construction, the height of buildings, the number of exits, the presence of fire escapes, and many other details. Building inspectors are appointed. An unsafe building may be condemned and its use forbidden until its defects are remedied. It would seem that the people would take a great interest in the safe construction of their buildings, and that the laws protecting them would be rigidly enforced; but such is not always the case. For a long time no accident happens. The people become careless, and the laws regulating building are violated constantly. Of 333 tenement houses which were being built in New York at one time, it is said that only 15 conformed to the law. It requires some great disaster to arouse the people to their own responsibility. Such was the Iroquois theatre fire in Chicago, in 1903, in which 600 people lost their lives.

Fire insurance companies

In order to prevent great loss to individuals from fire, fire insurance companies have been organized. It is to be noted, however, that insurance companies do not actually prevent the loss of property. They merely distribute that loss among many citizens. When a man insures his property, he has to pay the company a *premium* for the protection afforded. The premiums of thousands of persons produce a large sum of money out of which the occasional losses by an individual are met. Thousands of property owners in all parts of the land are thus sharing in the losses of individuals.

When the great fire occurred in San Francisco, following the earthquake in 1906, the loss fell very heavily on the insurance companies. In order to meet the loss many companies raised the rates of insurance all over the country. Thus people everywhere were helping to bear the burden. Fire insurance companies have an influence in keeping fire departments efficient, for they raise the rates of insurance when they think that fire protection is not so good as it should be. The people who have to pay these rates then demand better equipment and better organization in their fire departments.

Property and life are endangered also by thieves and other enemies of good order. In rough communities on the frontier, before government and law are well established, as in the early days of California, the honest but rough citizens sometimes protect themselves by voluntary organizations, frequently known as *vigilance committees*. They seek out offenders and punish them promptly, too often without giving them a fair trial. Similar methods are sometimes found in communities where there is a regular government, as in the case of "white-capping" and lynching parties. Such methods are full of evil. They are usually carried out under cover of darkness and in secret, thus opening a way for rowdyism and violence under a pretense of administering justice. A crowd of men gathered together hastily in a spirit of revenge quickly becomes a mob, and is likely to administer punishment to innocent persons, or cruel and inhuman punishment to the guilty.

Danger from lawbreakers

One of the most sacred rights of Americans is the right to a fair trial, before a jury of fellow-citizens, even though the accused is known to be guilty. This right is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United

The right to a fair trial

States, which says also that no cruel and unusual punishments shall be inflicted (see Amendments VI and VIII). It declares also that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law" (Amendment V). Vigilance committees may be in a measure justified in communities where there is no regularly organized government or law; but white-capping and lynching parties in communities with regularly organized governments are wholly without excuse. Such parties usurp powers granted by the Constitution to the existing government, and are as lawless as the original offender. They tend to create a disregard for law and order and disrespect for government.

The police

Our local governments have officers to protect the life and property of citizens, and to arrest persons who interfere with the rights of others. In townships there are constables; in counties, sheriffs and their deputies; in cities, the police department. The police department requires a high degree of organization because of the complex conditions of city life. Before the middle of the last century the police of our cities were as poorly organized as the fire departments of Franklin's time. In New York, although the population numbered more than 300,000, the policing of the city at night was performed by a body of citizens who pursued other occupations during the day. In the city of greater New York the police force consists now of more than 10,000 men, as many as constituted the American army at its best during the Revolutionary War. It is organized very much like an army, under a chief of police and many subordinate officers.

The police of a city patrol its streets at all times of the day and night to protect property and life against vio-

lence. They keep order in crowds; they guard dangerous street crossings, assisting people across and regulating the movements of vehicles; they assist the health department in enforcing its regulations; they render aid at fires in keeping the crowds back for their own safety, and to prevent interference with the work of the firemen; they restore lost children to their homes. As in the case of the fire department, the duties of the police require strength, courage, and intelligence. It is a misfortune, however, that the police departments of our cities are not always as efficient as the fire departments (see pages 235–6). The police department of the city often works together with the sheriff of the county and his deputies, and in times of great danger private citizens may be sworn into service to aid the police. At all times the police may call on private citizens for aid if necessary. Offenders against the persons or property of citizens are brought for trial before the police (or magistrates') courts of cities; or, for more serious offenses, before the higher courts of the state (see chapter XXIII).

Duties of the police

Another important arrangement for the safety of property and life is a system of street lighting. In ancient cities, as in Rome, the streets were narrow and crooked, and at night were totally dark, except as citizens lighted their way with torches. Philadelphia had no regular system of street lamps until it was established by Franklin. Modern American cities as a rule have broad, straight, paved streets, illuminated at night by oil, gas, or electric lights. The street-lighting plant is sometimes owned by the city and managed by the government; but it is usually in the hands of private companies paid by the city for their services.

Street lighting

Communities often regulate certain kinds of business for

the sake of safety. The manufacture of explosives is dangerous to life and property, and is therefore usually carried on under restrictions as to the location of the factory. The liquor traffic is often restricted to certain localities, and is checked by the imposition of license fees. In some communities it is prohibited altogether. A large part of the policing of a city is made necessary by the disorders growing out of the sale of intoxicating liquors. Pawn shops are subject to regulation by government to prevent them from receiving and disposing of stolen goods.

Regulation of business for safety

In a large community each man's life and safety depend, to a great extent, on the carefulness of others. The thousands of people who travel on the cars each day are at the mercy of those who run the train — the engineer, the conductor, the switchman, the train dispatcher. Gross carelessness on the part of such responsible persons may be considered a criminal offense, and may be punished by the proper authorities; but it is better to prevent accidents than to punish the responsible person after the accident occurs. Therefore the work of such persons is usually regulated by law, and arrangements are made to prevent accident. Railroads may be compelled to station watchmen at dangerous crossings, to provide gates that are closed at the approach of a train, or to run their tracks across streets on elevated roadways or underneath the street. The rate of speed at which a train, or electric car, or automobile may run is established by law, and violations of the law are punishable by fine. The government also appoints building inspectors and boiler inspectors. These are only examples of many precautions taken to prevent accident to life and property.

Prevention of accidents

Here again we have to notice the constant violation and

lax enforcement of the law. Trains rush through cities and across streets at unlawful speed. Street cars and automobiles do the same. Railroads often resist as long as they can attempts to compel them to elevate their tracks, or to provide safety gates. Elevators are run by incompetent persons and without inspection of the machinery. Inspectors do their work in a careless manner. Theatres are built without due regard to the number and position of exits. The individual who disregards the regulations imposed by the community, even in such slight matters as the speed of his bicycle, or the lighting of its lamp on a dark night, is helping to make his community an unsafe and unpleasant place in which to live.

Lax enforcement of laws to prevent accident

In 1912, 78,700 persons lost their lives by accident in the United States. A much larger number were more or less seriously injured. For example, while there were 41 persons killed in Fourth of July accidents, there were 947 who were injured. Because of the movement for a more intelligent celebration of Independence Day, the total number of such accidents decreased from 5623 in 1908 to 988 in 1912. A very large number of injuries, many of them fatal, are received by persons in their regular occupations. These are known as industrial accidents. In the year 1911, for example, there were 2719 men killed and 31,334 injured in the coal mines of the United States.

Movement for accident prevention

The United States Bureau of Mines has been active in its efforts to increase the safety of mining operations, by investigating the causes of mine accidents and urging measures to prevent them. There is now a pretty general movement for the prevention of industrial accidents. In the American Museum of Safety in New York City there

may be seen all kinds of devices for the protection of those who work with machinery or in dangerous places. Railroads and industrial organizations are adopting "Safety First" as their watchword. In order to compel employers to take every possible precaution for the safety of their employees, laws have been passed, known as "employers' liability laws," which hold the employer responsible for accidents occurring to workmen in their employ. Many industrial accidents, however, are due wholly or in part to carelessness on the part of the workmen themselves. Both employers and employees have a moral, if not a legal, responsibility for the safety of themselves and others.

Although the protection of property and life is largely in the hands of the local communities, most of the laws that local officers are called on to enforce are made by the state government, and apply alike to all the communities of the state.

The state militia

The state militia corresponds, in a measure, to the police of cities. It consists of all able-bodied male citizens of the states and territories and of the District of Columbia, and of all able-bodied males of foreign birth who have declared their intention to become citizens, who are between eighteen and forty-five years of age. It is divided into two parts: the organized militia, known as the National Guard of the several states, territories, or the District of Columbia; and the reserve militia, including all the remainder of those eligible to serve. In case of riot or disorder or calamity which the local authority cannot handle, the governor of the state may send the National Guard to aid in restoring order, as in the case of recent labor troubles in the Colorado coal mines (see page 82), or during the floods in Ohio in 1913.

The militia may be called out by the President of the United States to suppress insurrection or to repel invasion. It then becomes a part of the volunteer forces of the army of the United States, is subject to the same regulations as the regular army, and may be used either within or without the territory of the United States.

In the Revolution and in the War of 1812 the militia caused much trouble because of the jealousies of the several states. Governors sometimes refused to allow their militia to go outside of their states. Then, too, as in more recent wars, the militia has sometimes been poorly officered, poorly drilled, and impatient of discipline. Laws have been passed by Congress to remedy these defects, the most recent being that of 1914, which gives the President authority to appoint the officers of the militia in time of war.

National defense

For the defense of our national possessions and of the liberty of our citizens against enemies from without, we maintain an army and a navy. Our army is very small as compared with the armies of other nations. Our geographical position, separated as we are from other great powers, has made a large standing army unnecessary. The belief of the founders of our nation was that a large standing army was dangerous to the liberties of the people and a burden of expense. Our policy therefore has always been in favor of as small an army as is consistent with our national safety. In time of war our dependence has been chiefly on the militia or army of citizens enlisted for the occasion. At the time of the Civil War an army of more than 2,000,000 men was raised by enlistment in the North, and one of 1,000,000 men in the South. At the present time it would be possible to raise a vastly greater army than this, although our standing army of regular soldiers numbers less than 100,000 men.

The army not only defends our territory against invasion, but it may also be sent to any part of the world to protect the rights of American citizens. It may be called on to quell local disturbances when the state authorities are unable to do so. In the recent Colorado mine troubles referred to above (page 80) the state and local authorities failed to maintain order. The dis-

The army

Lawrenceburg, Ind., during the Flood of the Ohio River in 1883.

turbance assumed national importance. Therefore the President of the United States, who is commander-in-chief of the army, sent national troops to take charge of the situation. At the time of the earthquake and fire in San Francisco national troops from the fort near by were rushed into the city to help in maintaining order and in protecting property and life. They, of course, coöperated with the state militia and the city police. The national troops are usually more effective in restoring order than either the militia or the police.

The navy is another means of national protection. It has been the policy of the American government to limit our navy to the smallest size consistent with national safety, as in the case of the army. But because of our rapidly growing commerce and the increasing interests of American citizens in foreign lands, together with the acquisition of territory across the seas, a strong

The navy

BUILDING THE LEVEE AT LAWRENCEBURG, IND., FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CITY AGAINST FLOODS.

navy has become more essential than a large army. At the present time our navy compares favorably in strength with the navies of other large nations.

Many people believe that our navy should be greatly strengthened year by year. Others believe that such warlike preparations should be checked. Both parties are desirous of peace with all the world; but one party believes that the surest way to maintain peace is to be thoroughly prepared for war, while the other party would impress the world with our peaceful intentions by ceasing to prepare for war. The cost of the

The peace movement

navy is increasing at a rapid rate with the increasing size of battleships and armaments. Proposals have recently been made to seek an agreement among the nations to stop naval construction for a time. No one nation feels that it can stop building as long as the others continue to do so. It is believed by the friends of this plan that it

AN OHIO RIVER FLOOD SEEN FROM THE TOP OF THE LEVEE AT LAWRENCEBURG, IND.
The city is now entirely protected by the great embankment.
Notice the railroad tracks on the levee for safety.

would be a step in the direction of universal peace, besides relieving the nations of a vast burden of expense.

The national government has done a great deal for the protection of life and property by removing obstructions to navigation along the coast, by improving harbors, as at New York and at the mouth of the Columbia River, by erecting lighthouses and establishing life-saving stations. Every year the life

Life-saving on the coast

savers perform deeds of heroism by which scores of lives and thousands of dollars' worth of property are saved. The national government has constructed levees along some of our rivers, as on the lower courses of the Mississippi, for the protection of the land against floods.

We may learn from this chapter that the protection of our lives and property is placed almost wholly in the hands of the local governments; that the state government acts only when the welfare of the whole state demands it, or when the difficulties to be met are beyond the powers of the local authorities; and that the national government acts for the nation at large, and interferes in local protection only when the interests of the whole nation are at stake, or when the local and state authorities prove themselves incapable of handling the situation.

Protection chiefly in the hands of local and state governments

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What were the means of fighting fires in your community in the early days? How did the methods compare with those of Franklin's time?

2. Describe the organization of the fire department in your city. How is the highest degree of efficiency among the firemen secured?

3. Report on the waterworks system of your city. Is it efficient? If not, why?

4. Try to find out the chief causes of the fires in your community in the last year. What may you do to prevent them?

5. From the city ordinances find some of the regulations regarding the construction of buildings.

6. Is there building inspection in your community? Is violation of building ordinances common?

7. Report on the duties of the constable. Of the sheriff.

8. Describe the organization of the police department. What qualifications must a man have to receive appointment as a policeman in your community?

9. Look up the services of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia in

improving the fire department, the night watch, and the lighting of the streets (see Franklin's Autobiography).

10. What is the method of street lighting in your community? Is it done by the community itself, or by a private company? Is it as well done as it should be?

11. What kinds of business in your community are regulated for the protection of life and property?

12. What other ways can you find in which property is protected besides those mentioned in this chapter?

13. Investigate the subject of the violation of speed regulations, and other regulations to secure safety on the streets of your city.

14. Have you an organization of militia in your community? Find out what you can about its organization. Try to find out something about the following points: *a*. What is the numerical strength of the militia in your state? *b*. How are its officers chosen? *c*. What instances do you know of your state militia being called out to suppress disorder?

15. Find out what you can about the organization of the United States army; of the United States navy.

16. Find out what you can about the work of the life-saving service of the United States.

17. Report on instances of the use of the army in time of calamity other than war.

18. Report on the cost of a modern battleship, and of the American navy for one year.

19. Report on devices for the prevention of industrial accidents.

20. Discuss methods by which you may reduce the danger of accidents in your daily life.

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For information regarding the organization of branches of local government, such as the fire and police departments, the city charter and city ordinances may be consulted. In many cases there may be printed reports of the departments in question. It will often be impracticable to expect the whole class to gather full information on such matters; but one or two pupils may make special reports.

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Lighthouse on the Shore of Lake Michigan.

CHAPTER XI

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN IN BUSINESS LIFE

A LARGE part of the activity of the people of every community is due to their desire for wealth, and constitutes the business life of the community. It is well to remember that, when we speak of wealth in this connection, we do not necessarily mean great riches, but all material goods, however much or little, for which men are willing to work. In many people the desire for wealth is very strong, and sometimes becomes a passion that smothers the other desires of life; then it tends to make men narrow and selfish, and to interfere with their greatest usefulness in the community. Wealth is worth having only when it contributes to the health, the knowledge, the beautiful surroundings — in a word, to the complete life of those who possess it. But whether the purpose be to attain completeness of life, or merely to satisfy greed, or perhaps to enjoy the excitement of the game of business, the business life of a community always occupies a large part of the attention of the people.

The business life of a community

The dependence of each citizen on the community is nowhere seen more clearly than in his business life; nowhere is his responsibility to the community greater; nowhere is there greater opportunity for good citizenship.

How dependent the individual is on the community for

success in satisfying his desire for wealth might be shown in many ways, but we shall take only one or two illustrations. The pioneer family was almost wholly dependent on its own efforts for the accumulation of wealth, and consequently this wealth was very limited in quantity and quality. The articles of home manufacture were usually few and rough. There were few materials to select from, and the many things to be done left little time for doing any one thing except in the simplest way possible. All the members of the family contributed to the common result, and they divided the work so that each had his special tasks and became more skillful than the others in their performance. All worked together for the common good, and each received a share of the results of the labor of all.

The pioneer family was dependent largely on itself

As this small community consisting of one family was increased by other families, a better opportunity was given for a division of labor. One member of the original family, who had formerly made the shoes for his family only, on account of his skill at that work and because of the demands of the additional families, was now enabled to devote his entire time to shoe making. Members of these new families were skillful in other crafts, one a baker, another a weaver, another a miller, and another a blacksmith. The needs of the community for bread, clothing, flour, and tools were now sufficient to enable the baker, the weaver, the miller, and the blacksmith to devote their entire time to their trades, thus both increasing the amount and improving the quality of their products. One after another the duties of the farmer were lessened until finally it became his special business to provide farm products for the whole

The results of a division of labor

community in return for the things that the others did for him.

Effect of modern industrial organization

With the introduction of machinery and the building of factories where hundreds of men are employed, the division of tasks has become more complete, and each worker rarely produces more than one thing. In well-organized factories, each workman devotes his entire time to producing one small part of each article. In a factory for the manufacture of milling machinery, for example, one set of workmen does nothing but chip the surface of millstones with hammers to make them rough. They apparently contribute very little to the general welfare; but the community provides them with a living in order that they may do this one thing, and do it well. We say that they receive so much a day for their work. In reality they are being supplied with bread and meat, clothing and shelter, furniture and tools, medicines and doctors' services, education for their children, religious teaching on Sundays, entertainment at the theaters, and scores of other things, in exchange for their monotonous and apparently unimportant work of putting rough surfaces on millstones.

Geographical division of labor

Division of occupations also takes place in accordance with geographical location. This is of great importance in a large community like our nation. In some parts of the country corn is the chief product; in others cotton; in others fruit. In some parts cattle or sheep raising takes the place of farming; in other parts mining. The different metals are found in different localities. In one place lumbering is the chief occupation; in another place fishing. One region becomes famous for its cotton manufactures; another for silk;

another for iron. The gardener who gives his whole time to raising vegetables to supply the market of some small city receives in return bread from wheat raised in the Dakotas; clothing manufactured in New England from cotton raised in Texas, or from wool raised in Montana. He uses wagons made in Indiana of timber raised in the South and of iron mined in Minnesota and smelted in Ohio.

A Market Scene.

In these days of large business enterprises, the men who run the machines and perform labor of other kinds are not usually the men who furnish these machines and the other forms of capital. The men who furnish the capital and those who furnish the labor are dependent on each other. It is true that they often act toward each other as if their interests were antagonistic. Although the workingmen are far more numerous than their employers, the latter have usually had the advantage in a conflict, because their greater wealth enables them to sustain themselves in idleness for a time without suffering. In order to protect

Dependence of employer and employee on each other

their own interests workingmen in many trades and industries have organized themselves into *unions*, so that by acting together they may secure from their employers a recognition of their rights. This is well, provided that the unions remember always that their employers and the community at large also have rights which must be regarded. "Neither can take advantage of the other without the common interest suffering. The mutual object of both is to produce the best possible article at the lowest possible price, in order to place it within reach of the greatest possible number of purchasers."

Thus we see how every worker in the community is dependent on all the other workers. The success of each depends very largely on how well the whole business organization of the community does its work. On the other hand, the community depends on each individual, and on each class of workers, to do his or its work well. Each citizen, as a worker in the business life of the community, has upon him a great responsibility.

The life of a community is a life of productive work

A man engages in business activities primarily to satisfy the wants of himself and his family. But he can do this only by performing work that will be useful to others, and that will help to satisfy their desires. A carpenter, in order to gain a livelihood and to provide his family with the comforts of life, must build houses for others. He may be most concerned about *what he will receive* for his work; the community is most concerned about *what he produces*. If he does careful, skillful work, he is considered a valuable member of the community. If he is careless, or a poor workman, he is considered in that respect a poor citizen. Good citizenship shows itself in the productive work of a man more than in any other way.

The history of our country has been very largely a story of the clearing of forests, of the reclaiming of the soil for agriculture, of the opening of mines, and of the growth of commerce, manufactures, and cities. It is a story of the building of railroads and steamboats, of telegraphs and telephones. The men who have done these things are as much the builders of

The builders of our nation

TWO VIEWS OF AN ENGINE FACTORY.
Showing how the factory has been given attractive appearance. Notice the vine-covered buildings and smoke-stack.

our nation as the men who made our constitutions and organized our governments. The men and women who are to-day working on the farms or in the mines, in factories and shops, in stores and offices, or in other lines of business, are as truly doing their country a service as those who hold the offices of government. Both kinds of service are necessary, and in either case patriotic citizenship consists in giving to the community the best service possible.

It is important that the citizen should realize that, in the work by which he makes a living, he has a great responsibility toward the other members of the community.

The employee is responsible to his employer for the very best work he can do, for the employer is depending on him to help in producing the best possible article for the use of the community. The employer, on the other hand, is responsible for the welfare of those who work for him. A constantly increasing number of employers are coming to realize that this means more than merely giving fair wages to the employees and are providing them with better places in which to work, with healthful and pleasant surroundings, and with arrangements for their comfort and convenience. In some cases employers are even aiding their workmen to secure pleasant and comfortable homes, knowing that the better their workmen are cared for by them, the more earnestly will they work for the success of the business.

The responsibility of the citizen in business

Every citizen in his business life is under obligations to the community as a whole. No man's business belongs to himself alone; it belongs also to the community. The community enters into a sort of agreement with him in regard to his business, to the effect that if he will perform a certain service for the community, the community will support him. If he is a merchant or a manufacturer, the community has a right to expect from him honest goods and full measure. If he is a mechanic, it has the right to expect from him good workmanship. If he is engaged in the management of a railroad, it has a right to demand safety, comfort, and reasonable rates. No matter what his occupation may be, nor how large or how small his business, he is sure to show the character of his citizenship in the character of the product of his labor.

A citizen's business is also the community's business

But the citizen in business has a greater responsibility than for the quality of the product of his work. Business

life, and in fact the whole life of the community, could not be successfully carried on if it were not for the confidence that men have in each other. Think for a moment what confusion and unhappiness there would be if it were not for this confidence. When we ride on the railroad, we need confidence in the excellence of the work of those who made the locomotive, of those who laid the rails and built the bridges, of those who run the train, and of those who arrange the schedule and give the signals. When we buy food, or clothing, or any other product of human labor, we must have confidence in the merchant and in the manufacturer before we willingly part with the money that we have earned by our own efforts. When we receive money for our work, we must have confidence in the government that stamps the bills with its promise to pay a certain sum.

The responsibility of the citizen for confidence

By far the greater part of the business dealings between individuals, between communities, and between nations, is carried on by a system of credit, which is based on the confidence that men feel in one another and in the arrangements of the business world. Men would never deposit their money in banks if it were not for the confidence they feel in the banks, and in the government and laws that are behind them. Every accident on the railroads causes men to lose confidence, not only in the man who was guilty of carelessness, but also in the management of railroads in general. When an employer finds that he cannot trust one of his employees, it tends to destroy confidence in all employees. Every failure on the part of an individual to meet his business obligations tends to destroy the confidence of men in one another's business integrity. In short, every exhibition of dishonesty or inefficiency on the part of a citizen in his business relations helps to

undermine the confidence of the community, and to shake the foundation upon which the community rests.

Patriotism in business life

It is one of the best marks of good citizenship to perform the most efficient work possible, whatever one's calling. We call it patriotism when a man gives all that he has, even his life if necessary, for the good of his country, without stopping to consider whether he will receive an equal benefit in return. There is no higher type of patriotism than that which leads a citizen to perform his best service for the community in his daily calling, not for what he can get for it, but for what he can give.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Find out what the early settlers in your community had to pay for the land. What is the same land worth now? What has produced the change in value?

2. Compare the extent to which a farmer's family is dependent on others in making a living, with that to which a city family is dependent.

3. Make a list of twelve or fifteen different occupations in your community. How many of these did each family have to carry on for itself in the early days of your community?

4. What advantages can you see in a division of tasks or occupations? What disadvantages?

5. Visit a factory in your community and report on the division of labor that you find there.

6. Take the list of occupations mentioned in the paragraph on geographical division of occupations (page 90) and locate on a map of the United States a region characterized by each. Show how geographical conditions determine this division of occupations.

7. Is there a geographical division of occupations in your state? Draw a map of your state and locate characteristic industries.

8. Make a list of the different kinds of workmen that have been engaged in producing the different objects in your schoolroom. What different parts of the United States have contributed to the equipment of your schoolroom?

9. Show how a strike of workmen against their employers injures the employers; the workmen themselves; the whole community. (Use for illustration a strike that has occurred in your own community.)

10. Is it true, in your community, that the most useful citizens are those who care more about the excellence of their work than about what they receive for it? Illustrate.

11. So far as your experience goes, what boys have been most successful in business — those who make it a practice to do all they can for their employers, or those who have tried to do the least possible?

12. Who have been some of the builders of your own community by reason of their business life? Explain.

13. Show how a few dishonest pupils in a school will tend to destroy confidence throughout the whole school. What are some of the results of this loss of confidence on the life of the school?

14. Do you know of any case in your community in which the failure of some individual to do his whole duty in business has shaken the confidence of the entire community?

15. Are there any business establishments in your community in which special efforts are made to provide for the welfare and comfort of the employees? What is the effect upon the employees? Upon the business? Upon the community?

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Meakin, Budgett, "Model Factories and Villages." Gives an excellent account of what employers are doing for their employees in this country and in Europe.

Earle, Alice Morse, "Colonial Dames and Good Wives," chapter XII, "Fireside Industries."

THE WELL-KEPT HOME OF AN EMPLOYEE OF A MINING COMPANY IN MICHIGAN.

This company is much interested in the welfare of its employees, and encourages them in the improvement of their homes.

CHAPTER XII

HOW THE GOVERNMENT AIDS THE CITIZEN BY CONTROLLING BUSINESS RELATIONS

SECURITY in one's material possessions has always been one of the most sacred rights of Americans. The Revolutionary War was brought on because the English government persistently refused to recognize this right of the colonists. It took away a part of their property by taxation without asking their consent. It passed laws interfering with their commerce and manufactures. It quartered troops in their houses without their permission. It gave its officers unlimited power to search their houses and ships without duly protecting the rights of innocent and law-abiding citizens. When independence had been won and a constitution was to be adopted, the people demanded a sure protection of this right to their property. They refused to ratify the Constitution until amendments guaranteeing security in their possessions had been promised.

The sacredness of property rights

The colonists recognized the necessity of some regulation of their property rights and of their business relations by government. Nowhere else do individuals come into conflict with each other so often as in their business relations. Most of the disputes brought before the courts for settlement are over business or property matters. Such matters concern the individual so closely that the colonists believed that their regulation should be under their own control

The desire for self-government in business matters

through their local colonial governments. The same idea prevailed when our Constitution was framed. Business matters were not placed under the authority of the national government, except such as concern the relations between citizens of this country and those of foreign countries, or between citizens of two or more states. Each state has unlimited control over all business relations within its own borders. At the same time, it is the policy of our state governments to leave to each citizen as much individual freedom in his business activities as is consistent with the welfare of the community.

State control over all ordinary business relations

When a group of men wish to organize as a corporation for manufacturing purposes, or to build and operate a railroad, or to do an insurance business, it is almost always the state that gives them the authority. The state has done much to aid business by the construction of roads (see chapter XIII). The state protects the interests of workingmen and working women. Most of the states have laws permitting the incorporation of labor unions. State laws place restrictions on the labor of children and limit the number of hours that women may work in factories. State laws also provide for the health of workers in factories and mines by requiring employers to maintain good sanitary conditions, and by a system of inspection to see that the requirements are carried out. In some of the more recent state constitutions special safeguards are thrown about the working classes. In the older constitutions such provisions are not found because, when these constitutions were framed, labor organizations and the factory system did not exist. In these older states the legislatures enact, from time to time, such laws as seem necessary. State laws also endeavor to prevent the community from being de-

frauded by persons and corporations that seek to render dishonest or inefficient service.

The need of a national government

During the Revolutionary War and after it, until the Constitution was adopted, the thirteen states were bound together in a very loose Confederation merely for purposes of common defense. There were few laws applying to all the states alike. There was little uniformity among them in their methods of regulating the business relations of their citizens. Each state had its own form of money. Each was at liberty to levy taxes on goods brought from other states, thus tending to check commerce. So little uniformity was there, so bitter were the jealousies among the states, and so great did the confusion become, that the Confederation was about to fall to pieces, and the fruits of the Revolution were in danger of being lost. It was this danger, due to the confusion in business affairs, that led to the calling of the convention that framed our present Constitution. It was found necessary to have a government that could protect the common business interests of all the states alike.

The powers of Congress in business matters

The Congress created by the Constitution was given the power, which the Congress of the Confederation had not had, of laying and collecting taxes "for the common defense and general welfare," but it was provided that the "duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States" (Art. I, sec. 8, clause 1). The states were forbidden to lay duties on goods coming in from other states, so that interstate commerce should not be interfered with. Congress was also given power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes" (Art. I, sec. 8, clause 3). In

order to maintain successful business relations in a community it is necessary that there be a reliable and uniform system of money; and since this was a matter of common interest to all the states, Congress was given power "to coin money," and to "regulate the value thereof." Under these last powers Congress has established mints for the coining of money, has enacted laws providing for a uniform currency, and has established a national banking system which is not merely an aid to the government in regulating the currency and in borrowing money, but is also a great convenience to the business men of the whole country. Congress was also given the power to fix the standard of weights and measures (Art. I, sec. 8, clause 5).

Regulation of foreign commerce

Under its power to regulate foreign commerce, Congress has levied import duties sufficiently heavy to check the importation of foreign manufactures, and thus to encourage the manufacture of these articles at home. The question of the extent to which imports should be taxed (the *tariff* question) has always been one of the main issues dividing the great political parties of the United States. At the very beginning of our national history Alexander Hamilton argued in favor of import duties so high as to exclude foreign manufactures, and thus to protect our own "infant industries." Thomas Jefferson, who believed that the chief sources of America's wealth would be agriculture and commerce, argued against such protective duties. He thought that a "free trade" policy would stimulate commerce and agriculture.

Hamilton's protective policy has prevailed during a large part of our history, although always opposed by one great party. To-day conditions are quite different from those of his time. We have become a great manufactur-

ing nation. Our industries are no longer "infant," but are very largely in the hands of wealthy and powerful corporations. The opponents of the protective tariff hold that it tends to raise prices and thus to increase the cost of living. Its friends argue, on the other hand, that it helps to maintain high wages by protecting the American workman against competition with the cheaper labor of foreign countries. The whole question is a very difficult one, and it is by no means easy to devise a tariff that will be wholly just to every producer as well as to the consumer in all parts of our country. A new tariff was enacted by Congress in 1913, materially lowering the duties on many important articles. It is known as the Underwood Tariff, taking the name of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, who was largely responsible for its form.

Congress has also established a consular system to look after the commercial relations of this country with foreign nations. Consuls are appointed by our government to go to the important cities of all civilized countries. Among their many duties, they investigate the products and manufactures of the countries to which they are sent, try to create a market in those countries for products of the United States, and, in general, try to stimulate favorable business relations between our country and all the world.

Under its power to regulate commerce among the several states, Congress has enacted a number of laws regulating the activities of railroads and other corporations whose business affects the entire nation. In 1887 an Interstate Commerce Act was passed to prevent certain unjust business methods on the part of transportation companies, such as charging rates that discriminate in favor of one individual or locality as against another.

This law created an Interstate Commerce Commission with authority to inquire into the management of the business of "common carriers," such as railroads, steamship lines, or express companies. A later law gives the Commission power also to fix the maximum rates which may be charged by such "common carriers."

Regulation of interstate commerce

The history of business development in recent years has been marked by the growth of great business organizations known as *corporations*. With the enormous capital at their command, and with the economies of management made possible by doing business on a large scale, these corporations have been enabled to gain control of many lines of business. Then, in some cases, a number of corporations in the same line of business have formed combinations known as *trusts* which still further control business and prices. As a result of abuses of this power Congress, in 1890, passed an "Anti-Trust Law" which made illegal any "contract, combination . . . or conspiracy in restraint of trade" among the states or with foreign nations, and made any person liable to punishment who should, alone or in combination with others, attempt to monopolize any part of interstate or foreign commerce. In 1903 a National Bureau of Corporations was created to investigate the organization and management of corporations. The extent to which corporations and trusts should be controlled by government, and the means by which it should be done, are among the greatest questions before our country at the present time.

Regulation of corporations

In 1906 a Food and Drugs Act was passed to prevent "the manufacture, sale, or transportation" of impure, falsely labeled, poisonous, or injurious "foods, drugs,

medicines, and liquors," and a Bureau of Chemistry was created in the Department of Agriculture to investigate such matters.

These laws illustrate how the growth of business interests affecting the entire nation has led the government to provide means of national coöperation unthought of by the makers of our Constitution. Among these means are three important departments of government, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Labor, the last two of which were established as separate departments in 1913.

The purpose of government is to afford opportunity

While some of this regulation of business by the state and national governments imposes serious restrictions on particular business interests, its purpose is nevertheless to further the interests of the country at large. The purpose of the government is not to hedge the citizen about with restrictions on his activities, but to afford to all the greatest possible opportunity for material prosperity. Sometimes the interests of the individual must yield before the interests of the community; but usually, in the long run, the advantage of the community will also be the advantage of the individual. Occasionally a law is unwisely or dishonestly enacted which benefits a small class to the detriment of the majority of the people. Such legislation is un-American, for the underlying principle of American government is the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Which of the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States guarantee the property rights of citizens? Explain each of these amendments.

2. Get a list, or summary, of the laws passed during the last session of your state legislature, and note about what proportion of them are for the regulation of business matters. Study the list to get an idea of the different kinds of business matters dealt with.

3. Is there anything in your state constitution for the protection of the interests of the workingmen? Anything for the regulation of business corporations?

4. What laws are there in your state for the regulation of the labor of children? Of women?

5. Is there any system of factory inspection in your state? If so, what is the nature and purpose of the inspection?

6. Mention some recent laws passed by Congress under its power to regulate interstate commerce.

7. How does a bank help business men? Are there any other banks besides national banks? Explain.

8. How does money help in the transaction of business?

9. Investigate the organization and duties of the consular service.

10. Report on the various activities of the Department of Agriculture; of Commerce; of Labor.

11. Make a report on the business confusion during the time of the Confederation.

12. Discuss in class, in the simplest terms possible, the meaning of "protection" and "free trade." Illustrate with concrete cases. What is the attitude of the present administration at Washington on the subject?

13. Discuss in class, in simple terms, the meaning of "corporation" and "trust." What is the attitude of the present administration in regard to their control?

REFERENCES

A copy of the state constitution should be on the teacher's desk for reference.

It is probable that a summary of the laws passed by the last legislature can be obtained at the city or county offices. If not, it can be obtained from the office of the secretary of state of your state. It would be desirable to have on the teacher's desk a copy of the revised statutes of the state.

Copies of the laws regulating the labor of women and children, factory inspection, etc., can usually be had by applying to the bureaus or departments of the state government dealing with such matters. The general treatment of these subjects, as also of the United States mint and the consular service, can be found in the New International Encyclopedia.

Fiske's "The Critical Period of American History" has an excellent chapter on the business confusion during the Confederation. (Chapter IV, "Drifting toward Anarchy.")

Hart's "Actual Government" will again be found useful in connection with this chapter; especially the chapters on "Commercial Organization" (chapter XXVI) and "Foreign Commerce" (chapter XXIV), and the section on "Consuls," on page 436.

Forman, "Advanced Civics," chapters XL–XLIV.

Beard, "American Citizenship," pp. 175–197; 231–236.

Latest Annual Reports of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

"Department of Commerce: Condensed History, Duties, and Practical Operation," Government Printing Office, Washington, 1913.

Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, vol. XIX, "Labor Laws and Factory Conditions." Prepared by the United States Commissioner of Labor, Charles P. Neil, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1912.

CHAPTER XIII

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN IN TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

You will recall that in seeking a site for the community described in the first chapter, the exploring committee was to notice whether there were roads or canals near by. The very nature of a community implies that there must be communication, for without it there could be no way of acting together. One of the obstacles in the way of united action among the thirteen American colonies was the absence of good roads connecting them. The trip from New York to Boston in those times required six days. A traveler tells us of spending a month in making the journey from New York to Washington at a little later time. Under such conditions it is not strange that it was difficult to develop a spirit of union among the colonies.

Community life implies communication

In the early part of the last century it cost $125 to haul a ton of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by wagon, the only means of transportation. It cost $2.50 to carry a bushel of salt three hundred miles. Wheat could not profitably be transported by wagon more than one hundred and fifty miles, because it could not be sold at a price to cover the cost of transportation. When the cost of transportation was so great, the commonest articles of household use to-day were luxuries which the people could not afford. The cause of all this was excessively bad roads.

Cost of transportation

The food supply of the nation comes from the farms. The raw materials for manufacture come from the farms, the forests, and the mines. The comfort of living for all of us, in the city as well as in the country, depends in a great degree on the ease with which these raw products can be brought from the country districts. It is said that ninety-five per cent of every load by train, steamship, or express, must be carted over a highway. The country roads are the foundation of our transportation system. And yet until recently they have been given comparatively little attention, and America is far behind many other civilized countries in the quality of her highways.

Importance of country roads

The old methods of road building and repairing in the United States were wasteful and inefficient. Not only was little care exercised in the location of roads, but their construction and repair were often left to the farmers in the neighborhood. Under the old methods in Indiana, for example, each township trustee levied an annual tax on the property of the farmers for the purpose of road improvement. This tax might be worked out. Every able-bodied man between the ages of twenty-one and fifty years, residing in a road district, was required to perform from two to four days' labor on the public roads each year or to furnish a substitute; or he might pay to the road overseer $1.50 a day for each day he should have worked. All this has now been changed.

Wasteful methods of road making

Improvement of roads was brought about in many cases by placing their management in the hands of the county government. This helped to secure more uniformly good roads over a larger area, and better supervision because the road taxes of the whole county made possible the employment of a trained county engineer. The first thing necessary, how-

Improvement in methods of road making

ever, was to arouse public sentiment in the matter. Farmers had to be shown that better roads enabled them to haul larger loads and to make quicker time, thus saving in a short time more than the improvements cost. One influence that created public sentiment for road improvement was the rapid increase of travel by automobile. The National Good Roads Association did much to arouse public interest and to secure legislation in many states.

State control of road making

As more people came to recognize the importance of good country roads, both to the country and to the city, public sentiment finally led some of the states to pass laws giving larger control over the matter to the state government. New Jersey was the first state to pass a modern highway law, in 1891, providing for state aid to local communities in highway construction. The law provided that when two-thirds of the property owners along a highway should petition the county for improvements, these should be made under the direction of a county engineer, but subject to the approval of the state highway commissioner. One-tenth of the cost was to be paid by the property owners along the road, one-third by the state, and the remainder by the people of the entire county in which the improvements were made. Other states soon passed similar laws. California, New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, and other states, began extensive systems of state highways, built and paid for by the state as a whole.

Turnpikes and the National Road

In the beginning of our national history the question of road making became very important in connection with the settlement of the West. Although the Constitution gave the national government authority "to establish post offices and post roads," and "to regulate commerce . . . among the several states,"

Congress was cautious about interpreting these powers too broadly, and the making of highways was left chiefly to the states and to private enterprise. Many turnpikes were built by private companies, for the use of which tolls were charged. The one great example of road building by the United States government in the early days is the National Road, authorized by Congress in 1806, and extending from Cumberland, Md., as far west as Illinois.

National aid in road building

The national government did something to promote road building by giving to states public lands, the proceeds from which were to be used for this purpose. In 1893 the Office of Public Roads was created in the Department of Agriculture. It has carried on investigations regarding road building and has advised with states in regard to the matter, but has built no roads except a few short ones as models or experiments.

Federal Aid Road Act

In 1916, however, the Federal Aid Road Act was passed by Congress, appropriating $75,000,000 to be expended during five years to aid the states to improve their "rural post roads." The money is apportioned among the states on the basis of area, population, and extent of their post roads. But no state may receive this aid except on condition that it creates a well organized state highway department and makes an appropriation for road improvement equal to the amount given to it by the national government.

Renewed activity in all states

Every state in the Union has accepted the terms imposed by Congress, and road improvement is now going on in the United States as never before. As an illustration, the Indiana law enacted in 1919 may be mentioned. It created a state highway commission of four members to be appointed by the governor. These members hold office for four years, one member

going out each year, thus assuring a continuous highway policy. Not more than two members shall represent the same political party, this and other provisions being designed to remove road improvement from the influence of "politics," heretofore one of the chief causes of bad roads in America. The commission appoints a director, chosen entirely for his fitness for the position, and under him are

Old Wooden Bridge on the National Road crossing White River, Indianapolis.

the chief engineer, the superintendent of maintenance, and the chief clerk. The law provides for the construction of a system of state highways connecting all county seats and all cities and towns of more than 5000 population, and also connecting with trunk highways of other states. Provision is also made for state aid to local communities in the improvement of roads other than the state highways. All of this work is paid for, half by the state and half by the United States, and while done under the direction of the state highway commission, it must have the approval of the United States Department of Agriculture, to which all plans are submitted in advance.

Indiana Road Law of 1919

The rivers were the natural highways into the West, and

schemes were early proposed to improve them, as when Washington urged the improvement of the Potomac. The invention of the steamboat by Robert Fulton in 1806 gave a great impetus to water transportation, and steamboats were soon plying the rivers, both in the East and in the West, as well as the Great Lakes. The rapid development of railways checked the use of the rivers, although they are still an important factor in the transportation system of our country. The commerce of the Great Lakes has steadily increased, and is to-day of enormous proportions.

A great deal has been done by state and national governments for the improvement of our rivers. The River and Harbor Bill, passed every two years by Congress, involves one of the heaviest items of expense by the government. For the benefit of navigation on our coast the national government has established a *coast survey*, by which the safe channels and the dangerous points along the coast are charted for the guidance of seamen.

River and harbor improvement

The advantages of water communication were so great in the days before railroads that the construction of canals was strongly urged by many. Albert Gallatin, in Jefferson's administration, proposed a series of coastwise canals from New England to South Carolina. There was great opposition to such improvements at national expense; and, as in the case of roads, it was left chiefly for the states and private companies to undertake them. The most successful of the early canals built under state authority was the Erie Canal, connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson River and thus with the Atlantic. Its success aroused other states to similar enterprises. Some of these canals were successfully constructed and operated, but most of them were not.

Canals

It was the coming of the railroads that caused the downfall of the canal schemes. Under certain circumstances canals remain, nevertheless, an important means of transportation. The Erie Canal is still an important highway, and the state of New York is now spending $100,000,000 to improve it so that large modern freight boats may navigate it. The United States government has built a number of important canals in recent times for the purpose of avoiding rapids in rivers, or to connect the Great Lakes. One of the largest of these is the canal at Sault Ste. Marie, between Lake Superior on the one hand, and Lakes Huron and Michigan on the other. The greatest canal ever undertaken is the Panama Canal now nearing completion by the United States. It has been constructed under the greatest difficulties. Its cost will be about $400,000,000. It will shorten the voyage from New York to San Francisco by 8000 miles, and will be of untold value to the entire world.

Steam railways revolutionized transportation. They quickly displaced most of the older turnpikes and canals, and made travel rapid beyond the imagination of the people of earlier times. They soon covered the country with a network of tracks until, at the present time, the railways of the United States would encircle the globe eight and a half times, without counting second tracks and sidetracks. The importance of the railroads in the building of our nation can hardly be overestimated. It is quite possible that the territory we now occupy could never have been included in a single nation if it were not for the railroads that bind together its widely separated parts. San Francisco and New York are to-day as close together, so far as ease of communication is concerned, as New York and Boston were in Washington's

Railroads

time. Because of their great service to the country in this way, railroads have at various times been aided by both state and national governments. The national government gave to many states, in early times, large tracts of public land, the revenue from which was to be used in the work of constructing railroads. When the great Western roads were proposed, Congress gave about 100,000,000 acres of land to aid in the enterprise.

Railroads in this country are owned by corporations chartered by the state governments or, in some cases, by the national government. Since the service they perform is of such a public character their conduct is regulated to a large extent, as we have seen, by the Interstate Commerce Commission (p. 103). Many of the states also have railway commissions and laws to regulate the business of railroads within the state boundaries. There are many who believe that railroads should be owned by the government, as is the case in many European countries.

Electric interurban lines

Another most important step in binding separate communities together, and especially in bringing isolated communities into relation with larger centers of life, is the recent growth of electric interurban railways. Many little communities not heretofore touched by steam railways have been brought into the stream of life of the larger community about them. There was a time not long ago when the life of the farmer was a life of isolation. He had few of the advantages of the city, and seldom came into intimate contact with the life of the world. All this is rapidly being changed by the building of electric lines through the rural districts, together with the establishment of free rural mail delivery and the extension of telephones in the country. By these means city, town, and rural populations are being

bound more closely together. The people mingle more freely. What affects one for good or ill more quickly affects all. The whole country is being united more firmly into a single community.

A PORTION OF THE LAKE FRONT, CHICAGO.
Observe the railroad yards, the piers extending into the lake, and the viaduct over the railroads to the piers.
Compare this scene with that in the illustration on page 15.

The question of transportation in cities is an important one, and presents difficulties not found in rural communities and small towns. First in importance is the street itself. All cities have a department of government to manage the construction and repairing of the streets, and employ engineers who under-

Transportation in cities; the street

stand the principles of good street making. It is too often true, however, that street commissioners and other officers in control of the streets are appointed as a reward for political services rather than because of fitness for the work. Too often large contracts for street making are let, through political favoritism, to men who are more interested in the amount of money they can make out of the job than in the welfare of the community. Such contractors, and the officers of government who knowingly employ them, are enemies to the community.

Blocking the streets

The streets are for the use of the people. No one has a right to block them unnecessarily to the inconvenience or danger of others. There are ordinances to prevent storekeepers and others from blocking the sidewalks with boxes or otherwise. These ordinances are often violated, making the way of the pedestrian both difficult and dangerous, besides making the streets unsightly. In large cities the sidewalks and streets are necessarily crowded, and a slight accident may block traffic completely for a time.

Franchises

It is necessary to use the streets in cities for the laying of sewer, water, and gas pipes, the stretching of telegraph, telephone, and electric-light wires, and the construction of street railways. Franchises for these purposes are granted, on two conditions: first, definite services must be performed for the people; and, second, the natural use of the streets by vehicles and pedestrians must not be interfered with. Here again we often find the rights of the people disregarded, both by the companies which obtain the franchises, and by the government officials who grant them. Sometimes franchises are carelessly drawn up and give away privileges to companies without safe-guarding the rights of the people. Sometimes the officers of

government dishonestly and unpatriotically give away the people's rights for private gain.

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TRANSPORTATION IN A LARGE CITY.

Life in cities has been almost revolutionized by the development of rapid transportation by electric trolley cars. In some of the largest cities there are elevated railways, upon which trains are driven without the delays necessary in surface transportation. In New York and other cities there is also a system of subway transportation under the streets.

Rapid transit in cities

The regular steam railways run trains a few minutes apart between the centers of all large cities and their suburbs. In a single year the surface, elevated, and subway trains in the city of New York carried more than 860,000,000 passengers; in Boston, 270,000,000; and in Chicago the surface and elevated roads carried nearly 550,000,000.

Government ownership of railways

The city railways are owned and operated by private corporations under franchises. It has been proposed that cities should acquire possession of their transportation systems and should operate them themselves, as is done in many European cities. It is argued that the service could then be made just as good as the people want it, and the fares could be reduced greatly. It is said, in reply to this, that if city governments cannot wisely and honestly control the giving of franchises, and enforce their terms, how much less likely would the governments be to manage the entire business wisely and honestly.

Communication of ideas

In community life there must be an exchange of ideas as well as a means of transporting goods and people. The manufacturer must know what kinds of goods the people want and what they will be willing to pay for them. He must also know where he can get his materials for manufacture most advantageously. In a large country like ours the people in sections far removed from each other, like New England and California, would be likely to develop very great differences in manner of speech, in dress, in ways of thinking, and in forms of government, if they were not in constant communication with each other. The exchange of ideas is kept up partly by means of travel. There is a constant mingling of the people of different sections. We have, besides,

our postal system, the telegraph and telephone, and the newspaper. When an important event happens, the news of it is at once flashed to every part of the land and within a few hours, at most, is laid at our doors in the columns of a newspaper.

The Constitution gives Congress power to create post offices and post roads, and the post-office system has existed from the beginning under the complete control of the national government. At first the mails were usually carried on horseback, sometimes by boys, or by old men who "whiled away the hours by knitting woolen mittens and stockings" along the way. At the close of the Revolution letters were sent from New York to Boston two or three times a week. It sometimes required five weeks for a letter to go a distance now passed over in a single afternoon. Out of this small beginning has developed the extensive postal system which we enjoy to-day. Formerly, as to-day in very small communities, people went to the post office for their mail; but now in all cities and large towns it is delivered at their doors. There is also a rural free delivery, postmen driving daily from farmhouse to farmhouse. In 1913 a parcel post was established, which means a package express service heretofore performed by private express companies.

Postal system

So great is the service performed by the telegraph, the trans-oceanic cable, and the telephone, that it is hard to see how life could go on without these means of almost instantaneous communication connecting business offices or homes, farmer and city dweller, distant cities, and the nations of the world. The first telegraph line in the United States was owned and operated as a part of the government postal service, as is now the case in some countries, but the telegraph and telephone

Telegraph and telephone

are now in the hands of private corporations. The Postmaster General of the United States, in his report for 1913, expresses his conviction that the Post-office Department should control all these means of communication and his belief that this will ultimately be the policy of the United States as of other countries.

We must not close this chapter without reference to the wonderful invention of *radio-communication* — wireless telegraphy — which is one more powerful means of binding the whole world into one community with common interests. We prize it especially, perhaps, as a means of saving life on the sea. So much depends upon this means of communication that our government has passed special laws to prevent interference with important messages. Every one who operates a wireless station should conscientiously observe these laws.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Look up the difficulties of travel and transportation in our country in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and their effects on the life of the time.

2. Are the geographical conditions favorable to the making of good roads in your community? What is the condition of the country roads in your neighborhood during the winter? What effect do the road conditions have on the life of the farmer? On the life of the town people?

3. Who has control over the making and repairing of the country roads in your community? How is the expense of keeping them in repair met? Do the farmers work out their road tax? Are experienced persons employed to oversee the work of construction and repair?

4. Look up the history of road building in your state. Have there been any state roads? If so, locate them on the map. What steps is your state government now taking with or without Federal aid to improve the condition of the country roads?

5. Make a report on the history and influence of the National Road. Did it have any particular influence on the settlement of your state?

6. Give an account of the use of rivers in your state for transportation. To what extent are they used now?

7. Do you know of any river improvement going on in your state? By whom is it being made, state or national government?

8. Make a report on the work of the United States Coast Survey.

9. Make a report on the building and influence of the Erie Canal.

10. Look up the history of canal building in your state. Have there been any successful canals operated there? Are any of them still in operation?

11. Report on the purpose and history of the Panama Canal. What arrangements did our government have to make with other nations in regard to it? Of what advantage will it be to the world? What special advantages will the United States derive from it?

12. Report on the early history of railroad building in your state.

13. If there are interurban electric lines in your neighborhood, report what influence they have had on the life of the farmers; on the prosperity of the cities.

14. How does your city government manage the building and repairing of the streets? If you wanted the street on which you live paved, how would you set about it? How would the expense be met?

15. Are the ordinances respecting the blocking of sidewalks observed in your community?

16. If you have a street railway in your community, find out what the terms of the franchise are with reference to the use of the streets. Also with reference to the paving of the streets through which the tracks run. Are the people getting as good service from the street railways as they should? If not, why?

17. Debate the question, "Street railroads should be owned and operated by the city."

18. Report on rural free mail delivery in your neighborhood. What influence does it have on the improvement of the country roads? (See Report of Postmaster General for 1913, pp. 32–33.)

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CHAPTER XIV

WASTE AND SAVING

In the accumulation of wealth, saving is as important as production. Waste must be avoided. There is usually a good deal of waste in the household. There is waste in clothing through lack of proper care, through unwise purchasing of unsuitable materials, and through extravagance in the purchase of unnecessary articles. There is waste in fuel, sometimes by overheating the houses, sometimes by improper care of the furnaces or stoves. One of the greatest wastes is in the matter of food. "Scraps" are thrown away that a skillful housekeeper would use. Unnecessary quantities of food are bought and prepared. Many a good dish is spoiled in the cooking. Another waste is due to ignorance of the nourishing values of different articles of food. The man who works with his hands in the open air, constantly exercising his muscles, needs a different kind of nourishment from the student who sits at his desk all day. Those who are fed on the wrong kinds of food, or on food improperly prepared, cannot do as good work as they otherwise could. Not the least important means of securing good citizenship, as shown in effective work in the community, is a better management of the kitchens in the homes of the community.

Waste in the household

It is said that more than three fourths of the household expenditures in our country are made by the women. It

is a highly important service to the community for the girls who are to become the managers of the households to learn the lesson of saving. In the pioneer days every girl learned at home the details of house management. In modern life, especially in cities, it is not always so. It is now recognized that, in the attempts to improve the conditions of life in the slums of a city, one of the first things to do is to teach the people who live there how to save in their households, in order to get the best results from what they have.

Women are the managers of the household

In recent years the school has been assuming some of the responsibility for the education of the girls in domestic science. Courses in cooking and sewing are offered in an increasingly large number of public and private schools. Universities are training young women to become teachers of domestic science. It is being recognized, as it should be, that the skillful management of a household is as useful and honorable a service to the community as the management of a business.

The responsibility of the school

The successful business man always tries to avoid waste. By introducing smoke consumers, or by employing skillful stokers, he converts the smoke of his furnaces into steam power instead of pouring it out in clouds over the community. In a well-managed sawmill not only is the body of the logs sawed into lumber, but the waste from this process is made into tool handles, chair rounds, and other small articles. The pieces of wood that are too small for manufacturing purposes may be sold in cities for kindling. Even the sawdust is put to various uses. When the refining of petroleum oil was first begun, there was a great deal of waste product. From this former waste there are now produced many valuable by-

Waste in business

LEARNING DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

A lesson in cooking in a high school.

products, such as paraffin, vaseline, and dyestuffs. The by-products of a manufacturing process are sometimes more valuable than the main product.

Another kind of wastefulness is common in the home, in industry, in personal and public affairs. One's kitchen may be so poorly arranged that many unnecessary steps are taken in doing the daily work; or, it may not be the fault of the arrangement but of lack of plan in doing the work. Sometimes we see people working with tools that are dull or poorly adapted to the task in hand, when a little thought given to the matter, or a little time spent in putting the tools in good condition, would save time and effort besides securing better results. A brick mason once observed that many unnecessary motions were made in laying bricks. By devising a new kind of scaffolding which could always be kept in the same position in relation to the top of the wall, and by other adaptations, he made it possible for a man to lay two or three times as many bricks as before with no greater effort.

Scientific management

A new profession has recently developed out of such facts, known as "efficiency engineering." The "efficiency engineer" makes a business of studying industrial plants or business offices or occupations with a view to determining how to get the largest possible results with the least waste of time, energy, and materials. The results are secured through "scientific management." While in a large business or industrial undertaking it may be necessary to employ a specially trained efficiency engineer, the principle of scientific management may be employed by each of us in our daily work.

Saving does not mean hoarding. He who hoards is really wasteful, for the money that he hoards might be in-

vested in such a way that it would produce more wealth. He might buy machinery with it for manufacturing purposes; he might build houses with it to rent; he might buy a stock of goods with it, and sell them at profit; or he might lend the money to others who wish the use of it and receive interest.

Saving is not hoarding

It is the duty of every person to save by investing the surplus of his earnings, so far as he is able to do so. In the first place, he should endeavor to put it beyond a possibility that he shall ever be a burden on others for his support, or for the support of his family, in time of sickness, old age, or lack of employment. In the second place, it is through the investment of savings that productive industries are maintained, and the wealth of the community is increased. The man who saves by investment supplies the community with factories, machinery, railways, and other forms of capital. He also becomes an employer of labor. He thus contributes to the prosperity of the community.

Saving by investment is a duty

A postal savings system was established by the United States government in 1911. At the end of two and one half years there were $33,818,870 on deposit in 12,820 post offices that had been designated as depositories. Practically all of this large sum is made up of small savings that had been hidden away by wage-earners, many of them foreigners, who have confidence in the government but not in private savings banks. Many children make use of this method of saving. Savings stamps and savings cards may be bought at the post office banks to help save amounts less than a dollar. When the amount reaches one dollar it may be deposited. This postal savings system is a benefit to the individual, by affording safety to his savings and paying interest on them,

Postal savings banks

and also to the community, for it has drawn out from hiding places this large sum of money, which is thus placed in circulation for business purposes.

Another means of saving is by insurance. A person may insure his property against loss by fire, storm, or burglary (see p. 74). He may also insure his family or others dependent upon him against loss by reason of his death or injury. As in the case of fire insurance, the premiums that he and thousands of others pay to a life or accident insurance company constitute a fund, which the company greatly increases by investment, and from which losses are paid to his *beneficiaries* (those who benefit by his insurance). By one form of life insurance, the *endowment* plan, the insured person may himself receive the full amount of his policy at the end of a ten, fifteen, or twenty year period, if he lives that long. In case of his death before the expiration of the period, his beneficiaries receive the full amount.

Insurance

Life insurance companies have a peculiarly sacred obligation, for they pledge themselves to protect widows and orphans against financial loss. Dishonesty or bad management on their part is therefore especially blameworthy, as in the case of savings banks, where thousands of poor people deposit their small savings. Therefore the government subjects these corporations to careful investigation, and has enacted laws for the protection of policy holders against misuse of their insurance investments.

The very abundance of the natural resources of our country has led us as a people to be wasteful of them. Threatening exhaustion of some of them has called attention to national spendthrift habits, and forced our government to take steps to "conserve" these sources of wealth.

Conservation of natural resources

The rapid occupation of all available farming land led to the reclamation by irrigation of vast areas of supposedly waste land (see page 51). But even after its reclamation about half of it still remains idle. One reason for this is that much of the irrigated land was taken up by "speculators," men who buy the land and hold it without farming it, expecting that it will increase in value through the improvement of other lands in the neighborhood by real settlers. While the speculators make large profits through the efforts of others, their land lies idle, and is therefore waste so far as national benefit is concerned. Such speculation has occurred also in mineral and other lands. In his annual report of 1913, the Secretary of the Interior urges that the government take steps to prevent the acquisition of public lands except by settlers who will make them productive.

Reclamation of land

When there were still available large areas of fertile land, it did not seem necessary to force each acre to produce all that it was capable of producing. With the increasing needs of the people, it has become necessary to conserve the resources of the soil, which means to make it yield all that it can at the same time that its power to yield in the future is not impaired. In the Department of Agriculture of the national government there is a Bureau of Soils, which studies the soils in all parts of the country, and instructs farmers how to preserve or increase the soil fertility, and how to get the largest possible returns. The national government coöperates in such work with the state governments, many of which have agricultural departments and agricultural schools and experiment stations.

Conservation of the soil

Our forest resources have been sadly wasted by forest fires, by destructive methods of cutting timber, and in

other ways. This means not only the loss of the timber, but also an increased danger of floods with their consequent losses; the drying up of the sources of streams, thus interfering with navigation, irrigation, and water power; and the more rapid erosion of the soil itself. The national government maintains a Forest Service, whose work of forest conservation is saving enormous wealth to the country. Many of the state governments are doing similar work. The national government has set aside a large number of national forests (see page 51), not for the purpose of preserving them as they stand, but to make them yield as much wealth to the nation as possible for all time to come.

Forestry

Water is a source of great wealth, and a cause of much destruction. Millions of dollars' worth of damage is caused annually by floods. The work of the government in building levees along the banks of rivers to prevent flood destruction has already been mentioned (page 85). One purpose of the national forests on the watersheds of the country is to reduce the danger from floods. In some parts of the country, as in New England, reservoirs are constructed to receive and hold flood waters to prevent their overflowing the country. This "impounding" of flood waters in reservoirs is not only to prevent them from doing harm; it is also to force them to do good. The floods thus imprisoned may be let out gradually in dry seasons to irrigate the land, as in the reclaimed lands of the West, or to furnish water power.

Waste from floods

Niagara Falls and other sources of water power have been harnessed to generate electrical power by which cities are lighted, street cars propelled, and wheels of industry turned. But only a small fraction of the power available in this country is used at present.

As communities grow in size, it becomes increasingly difficult and costly to provide every one with an adequate supply of pure water. The water supply system of Philadelphia has cost about $62,000,000 and requires one and a quarter million dollars a year for its operation; but so rapidly has the city grown that the present system is hardly adequate in the summer months. New York City is expending about $176,000,000 on its new water supply from the Catskill Mountains. So easy is it for a person to supply his needs from the tap in the wall or the hydrant on the lawn, that he forgets that water is not as free as the air he breathes. It even seems absurd to many people to speak of "wasting water." But it is one of the most common forms of waste. It has been estimated that by installing water meters throughout Philadelphia, a saving of 32,600,000 gallons daily could be effected, enough to relieve the strain on the water system for five years, at the present rate of the city's growth. Much can be done by each person to conserve the community's water supply. A very tiny stream running constantly may mean a large waste in the course of a day. The accompanying illustration, furnished by the Superintendent of Water Works of Milwaukee, Wis., will make this matter plain.

Water conservation

At 40 pounds pressure, in 24 hours,

.... a stream running through this size of opening would mean a waste of 170 gallons,

.... through this opening a waste of 970 gallons, and

.... through this opening a waste of 3600 gallons.

Land, soil, forests, and water are only a few of the natural resources that have been wasted, and that the government is seeking to conserve for permanent use. At the end of this chapter will be found references to interesting accounts of this work of the government, including that of the Bureau of Mines in conserving our mineral resources; that of the Bureau of Fisheries in conserving the life of our streams, lakes, and coasts; that of the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture in protecting bird life largely to save crops and trees from the ravages of insects. In some of this work of conservation we may all have a direct part, as in protecting birds and in preventing waste of water. And in all cases we may help to mold public opinion against wastefulness and to cultivate habits of thrift.

Conservation of other resources

On page 71 reference was made to the enormous waste by fire in the United States, much of which is preventable. Organizations are growing up in various places which, in coöperation with government authorities, are seeking to impress on the people the needlessness of this waste and how they can help to prevent it. This is a work in which children can do much to help.

Fire waste

Wastefulness is often found in the management of the community's business by government. It is seen in many forms. Through a false idea of economy improvements that would result in real economy are not made, as when roads or streets are allowed to remain unimproved, thus causing an unnecessary expense in transportation. For lack of funds pavements that have been built at great expense are allowed to go without repair from year to year until the whole work has to be done over again; or the equipment of a fire department may be allowed to deteriorate, while the loss from fires in-

Waste in government

creases. In Philadelphia a saving of $30,000 a year was effected merely by a simple improvement of methods of cleaning the city hall. In Chicago $200,000 a year was saved in the time of city employees by a slight change in the method by which they received their salary checks and had them cashed.

Who is responsible for an economical government?

Wastefulness in government may sometimes be attributed to the incompetence of officials, sometimes to their dishonesty. It is sometimes due to too little sense of responsibility on their part for the wise expenditure of money that belongs to the public; for "the public" means to them nobody in particular. It is most often due, however, to bad management, to ineffective methods. But after all, wastefulness in the government of the community is largely the fault of the citizens themselves. They are inclined to place the responsibility for unwise expenditures and other forms of wastefulness upon the officers of government, unmindful of the fact that it is their own business that is being mismanaged. Each citizen owes it to himself and to the community to use every means at his command to secure an economical administration of the affairs of his community. One way of doing this is by keeping thoroughly informed about what the government is doing and how it does it, and by insisting that full information be provided by government itself. A person is always stimulated to do his best work when he knows that his employers are interested in it and understand his duties and his problems. One of the best reasons why every citizen should know how his government is organized and how it works, is for the effect that this knowledge may have, not upon the citizen himself, but upon those who are attending to the citizen's business in government positions.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What are some of the ways in which you are wasteful?
2. What are some ways of preventing waste in your household?
3. Is the kitchen in your home so arranged as to secure economy of time and of steps? Can you suggest ways of improving it?
4. By "scientific management" can you find a way of preparing your school work better and in shorter time, and thus save time for recreation and other activities?
5. Investigate some factory or business establishment to find out how waste is avoided.
6. Visit a gas factory and find out what by-products of value result from the manufacture of gas.
7. What other industries do you know in which there are useful by-products?
8. What are some of the ways in which men save by investment? Show how each of these methods of investment benefits the community.
9. Report on the postal savings system (see references).
10. Report on barren or swamp lands in your locality or state that have been or might be reclaimed.
11. Report on forest conservation by the national government. By your own state government.
12. What are the farmers in your locality doing to conserve the soil?
13. Report on the conservation of bird life. How does this result in saving for the farmers? How can you help the farmers in this matter?
14. Report on the conservation of fish and game by the national government.
15. Report instances of economies effected in city government by the use of scientific management (see references to Bureaus of Municipal Research).

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CHAPTER XV

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN TO SATISFY HIS DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE

In 1607 the first permanent English colony was founded in Virginia. Sixty-four years after its founding Governor Berkeley reported to the king on the condition of the colony, and among other things he said, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years." A statement like this from one in authority seems strange to us now, when one of our chief causes of pride is our system of free schools and our busy printing presses. It is a good example of the belief of despotic rulers that much knowledge on the part of the people is dangerous. It is true that a despotic government cannot exist in a nation where the mass of the people are educated. What Governor Berkeley wanted to see was a colony of loyal subjects of the king, contented because ignorant of their rights and powers, and without ambition to extend their liberties by revolting against the government of the king and his officers.

Governor Berkeley on education

Fortunately for the growth of a free and self-governing people, Governor Berkeley's ideas were not to prevail. The people of Virginia were eager enough for schools, though geographical conditions hindered their development. Within a few years from the founding of Virginia, another group of colonists founded Massachusetts. Here a law was passed providing

The New England idea

that in every town of fifty householders an elementary school was to be established, and in every town of one hundred householders, a grammar school. New England grew under a system of free schools, free discussion, and a free press, and because of these things, one hundred years after Berkeley's time became a center of rebellion against English oppression.

The family and education

We must look first to the family as the most important arrangement for the education of the citizen. If education were left entirely to the family, however, it would be inadequately and unequally provided. A large proportion of the citizens of America are foreigners. They and their children would make little headway in acquiring the knowledge that makes them intelligent citizens if their education were left for their families to accomplish. The children of wealthy families might be highly educated by means of books and travel, and by the employment of private teachers at home; while the children of wage earners would have to get along with very little education. It is not a high degree of education on the part of a few that makes a republic like ours great. It is rather a fairly generous amount of knowledge permeating all ranks and classes. Since the community is to be the gainer by it, the community must afford a means of education that shall be within the reach of all.

Education a fundamental idea of our government

As was stated at the beginning of this chapter, Massachusetts at an early time recognized the importance of a generally educated people by establishing a system of public schools. Connecticut made a similar provision soon afterward. Other colonies and sections of the country were slower about providing for the general education of the people, but in the course of time the Massachusetts way has

become characteristic of the American community. One of the foundation ideas of our free country is that there shall be the greatest possible freedom of thought and the most widespread information among the people. After the Revolutionary War, when the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted by Congress for the government of the Western lands, it provided that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." When new states were created out of this Western land, it was provided that each should reserve one section of every township for school purposes. States admitted after 1848 were to reserve two sections of each township. Thus began the public school system in the great West. In the law of 1906, providing for the admission of Indian Territory and Oklahoma as the state of Oklahoma, it was provided that the proceeds from the sale of all public lands should be used for school purposes.

How the cost of education is justified

The public schools of the United States are one of the largest items of expense to the government. In 1911–12 the states expended on their public elementary and high schools $482,886,793. This amounts to about $26 a year for each child enrolled. Why should the community expend so much for the education of its young people? Do they receive this education freely from the community for their own advantage alone? Community life is never one-sided. The child is educated by the community not that he may *get more* out of life (although it is true that he may), but that he may be able to *give more* to the well-being of the community. Our nation is annually investing millions of dollars in its young people, expecting to get its returns in greatly increased efficiency in the services rendered to it by its citizens.

Training for citizenship is accomplished by the school chiefly in two ways:

1. Through a course of instruction that will unfold to the pupil his various relations to life, and that will develop his powers of clear thinking and right action. We usually think of civics and history as the two subjects intended to train for citizenship, but every subject in the course of study should contribute to the same end. Language, literature, mathematics, science, manual arts, and vocational training, are

How the schools train for citizenship

THE WILLIAM CLARK SCHOOL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

all intended to broaden the view of the individual, to develop an all-round manhood and womanhood, to cultivate the different desires and powers in such a way as to fit the individual for life in the community.

2. The second way in which the school should train for citizenship is in the life of the school itself. The school is a community and is also a part of the larger community about it. It is a mistake to think that the school is merely a place to prepare for life. It *is* life. School children are doing just what the community expects them to be doing during their time of life. By so doing they are contributing to the welfare of the community as well as receiving a benefit from it.

People learn to do things by practice. All the principles of community life found in the world outside of the school are found also within the school. Here are grouped together a number of people with differing desires and motives, but all possessing certain common interests. Here are probably represented several different nationalities going through the process of being molded into Americans by common instruction and by association with each other. Here are children from all classes in the community, all on an exactly equal footing before the laws of the school, and with exactly equal opportunities of showing their worth and winning advancement by their own efforts. This is the real idea of democracy that we are trying to realize in our national and local communities. If we ever realize it perfectly, it will be largely through the influence of the public schools.

The principles of community life found in the school

In the school is found the necessity for industry and productive work; for a division of tasks and united action, under the direction of teachers, for the common good. Here is seen the necessity for organization and government in order that the greatest good for the greatest number may be secured. Here more or less responsibility rests upon each member for the welfare of all. Failure or wrongdoing on the part of one not only brings disaster to himself, but tends to disturb the harmony and well-being of all. Certain phases of school life tend to develop particular qualities of good citizenship; in athletics courage, decisiveness in action, and the spirit of square dealing are emphasized. And so in the life of the school habits are formed by practice that will work good or ill by being perpetuated in the life of the larger community outside of the school.

Pupil participation in school government

In order to give pupils practice in community government, many schools are organized somewhat on the plan of a city or state, with corresponding officers, such as a mayor, councilmen, and judges. The "school city" plan of pupil self-government is widely known. In other cases a large degree of pupil participation in the management of the school is secured

THE WORK-SHOP OF A SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

without any special organization like that of the school city. Opinions differ as to the desirability of the various self-government plans. It is clear, however, that no machinery of self-government can be successful without a real community spirit among both pupils and teachers. Furthermore, it is important to remember that the school is not a city or a state, but a *school community*, differing in many particulars from the former. However valuable it may be, as a means of instruction, to adopt the form of

government found in the community outside of the school, the really important thing is to form habits of good private citizenship in the school community, under the natural conditions found in school life.

Education is not only a privilege; it is a duty, because every citizen owes it to his community to equip himself to render the best citizenship possible. In most of the states there are laws which require every child to attend school until a certain age (usually fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen), and parents are held responsible for the attendance of their children. A great many pupils, however, drop out at the end of each grade for various reasons, so that a large proportion of those who enter fail to complete the entire course of the elementary school. The United States Bureau of Education estimates that only about one-fourth of the children who enter the first grade of the elementary school reach the high school, and of these only about forty per cent graduate.

Education a duty

What is the cause of this loss in school attendance? It is due in part to the fact that backward pupils, those who repeatedly fail of promotion, and reach the age when they may legally leave school before they complete the course, dislike to remain in the lower grades with children much younger than themselves. It used to be thought that many of those who left did so because they "had to work" to contribute to the support of their families. Investigations have shown, however, that it is not so often a real necessity of going to work, as it is a failure on the part of children and their parents to see why remaining in school is of any great advantage after the child is old enough to "get a job."

Why do children leave school?

These facts have led educators and others to study seriously the question whether the schools are doing all

that they should for their pupils. Surely, if parents are required to keep their children in school until fourteen or sixteen years of age, it ought to be made plain that it is worth while. It ought to be made so plain that a boy or girl would be eager to remain until the course is completed, even if it required a longer time than that fixed by law. Study of this question is leading to some important changes in school methods. It is leading to greater attention to the needs and capacities of the individual pupil. Pupils who have particular difficulties are given particular attention, and are not allowed to fall behind or drop out simply because others in the class have less difficulty. In some cases there are special classes or special schools for pupils who do not get on well in the regular grades or who have special interests. In such schools manual or vocational training usually has a large place. But most important of all is the attempt that is being made by school authorities to adjust the entire course of study and the methods of teaching more closely to the real needs and interests of the pupils, and to make it evident to every boy and girl that it is to their interest to remain in school as long as possible.

Adjusting schools to pupils' needs

While the average cost of education throughout the United States is about $26 for each pupil enrolled, the cost of high schools is more than $50 for every pupil enrolled in them. This higher education of a few by the community demands in return greater service to the community. The community has a right to expect more from an educated man than from an uneducated one; more from a high school graduate than from one who has not attended high school. A liberal education is not intended to relieve a person

The responsibility of the high school pupil

from hard work, but to fit him for more and better work than he could do otherwise.

The duty of education falls on the state, and not on the national government. The state, in turn, has left the matter largely in the hands of the local communities. For this reason we find a good deal of variety in the organization and management of schools. Usually, in rural communities, the township or county is divided into school districts. If the district is small, it has but one school. Sometimes the township, or even the county, constitutes a single district, and then there are probably several schools under a single management. In some cases the school business is transacted directly by the voters of the district, who assemble at stated times for the purpose. Usually it is placed in the hands of one or more committeemen or trustees, who are elected by the people. In most cases all the schools of a county are united under the management of a board, which sometimes consists of the several township trustees. The board of trustees looks after the school buildings, employs teachers, and often selects the text-books to be used. In order to secure uniformity and excellence in all the schools of the county there is usually a county superintendent, appointed by the board or elected by the people, whose business it is to supervise the actual work of the schools.

Education in the hands of state and local governments

Township and county management

Rural schools are often poorly organized. The terms are too short. Pupils of all ages and all stages of advancement are grouped together in one room, often in the same classes, and taught by the same teacher. This defect has in some places been partly overcome by consolidating the schools of the township in one centrally located build-

ing, where the pupils can be graded, and where several teachers can be employed under the supervision of a principal. A single township high school is often secured by this method of consolidation, although the separate districts could not support one. The difficulty in the way of consolidation has been the distance the pupils have to travel from the remote parts of the township. This difficulty has been met in some states by providing means of conveyance at public expense.

The organization and management of country schools

A Rural District School.

In cities the organization of schools can be more perfectly effected. The large number of children makes it possible to grade them from the primary classes up to the high school. The compactness of the population makes it easier to supervise the work of all the schools alike and to secure unity throughout the school system. Better buildings, better equipment, and better teachers can be afforded. The schools are under the management of a board, the members of which are sometimes elected by the people and sometimes appointed, and a superintendent, who is usually elected by the board.

City schools

City school boards are usually given wide powers in school matters, and act more or less independently of the other branches of the government, in order to secure freedom from political influence.

Conditions of life in cities differ so much from conditions in the country that the state allows cities great lib-

A Consolidated Rural School in Indiana.

Observe the large number of children in attendance, and the wagons by which they are carried to and from school.

erty in organizing and managing their school systems. The schools of the smaller towns and rural districts are usually controlled in their general methods by a central state authority. There is a state board of education, and often a state superintendent. The state superintendent is chosen sometimes by election, sometimes by appointment. In some states the text-books used are prescribed for the whole state by the

State control of education

state board of education. In some cases they are furnished free to the pupils at the expense of the state.

A number of the states provide state universities for the higher education of their young men and women. These universities afford not only a broad collegiate education that will better fit any one for life in the community, but they also offer special training for the law, for medicine, for engineering, and for other professions. Attendance at the state universities is usually free to citizens of the state; but so excellent are these institutions that they generally attract students from other states, who are required to pay tuition.

State universities

While education is thus chiefly in the hands of the state, the national government is not wholly inactive in the matter. We have seen how it gave a start to the educational work of the states by the donation of tracts of land. In addition to this it has established a Bureau of Education, at the head of which is the United States Commissioner of Education. His duties are chiefly to collect information on educational matters, to publish this information in reports and bulletins, and to exercise an influence on educational movements throughout the country. The national government maintains military and naval schools, schools for the Indians, and schools for the city of Washington.

Educational work of the national government

We have given our attention to the public school system as the chief means of education directly controlled by government. But it must not be supposed that this is all the community does for this purpose. There are thousands of private schools scattered over the country, especially in the cities. There are parochial schools; that is, schools managed by certain churches, as in the case of the Roman Catholic church. There are

Other educational institutions

many colleges which are self-supporting, or derive their support from private funds. There are schools for the deaf and dumb, and for the blind, supported by the state. There are thousands of libraries all over the country, many of which are public libraries for the free use of the citizens. These are a valuable ally of the public schools, and are sometimes managed by the school board in cities. Many

High School, Fort Wayne, Ind.

of the states have state libraries, and at Washington there is the great Congressional library, a national institution.

In the colonial days of New England the town meeting was one of the greatest educational forces. Here the people gathered to discuss matters of common interest. Every citizen was educated on matters of public importance. This widespread information is important in a republic like ours. The love of meeting together to discuss public questions, or to hear them discussed by well-informed persons, is very

Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage

striking in America. We have only to compare ourselves with some of the countries of the world, like Russia, where men may be sent into exile for expressing their thoughts too freely, where public meetings are largely forbidden, and where no news may be printed in the newspapers until it has been examined by government officials, to be thankful that our Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people freely to assemble" (Amendment I).

The town meeting has almost disappeared. But in its place many other means for the discussion of public questions have arisen. In this connection we again come back to the public school house. The people are just beginning to realize that their school buildings, which have generally stood idle except during the hours when school is in session, might have a much wider use, and afford an excellent place for neighborhood meetings. In many localities, therefore, in both city and rural communities, the school houses have become civic or social centers of great influence in the education of the people through neighborhood discussion of public questions. It is the town meeting idea adapted to modern conditions. "It is in this idea of the school as a social center that the whole modern evolution in education finds its completion. The school building becomes not merely a place for educating the young, it is the place where the whole community educates itself, adults as well as children."

The school a civic center

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Find what you can about the school life of the child in colonial New England; in colonial Virginia.

2. Find what you can about the first schools in your own community. How did they differ from the schools of to-day? How long was the school term? Did all children attend? Were they private schools, or public? Where did they get teachers? How well were the teachers paid?

3. What does the family do for the education of the children that the school cannot do? What does the school do that the family cannot?

4. What does your state constitution provide with regard to education?

5. Describe the organization of the schools in your township and county.

6. If the schools in your community are graded, when and why did the grading take place? Show how the graded system is better than the ungraded system.

7. Are the country schools consolidated in any part of your state? If so, how does the system work? What are some of the advantages of consolidating small country schools?

8. If you live in a city, describe in detail the organization of the city schools. Describe the board of education, number of members, term of office, powers, etc.

9. What are the qualifications prescribed for teachers in your community? How are the teachers selected?

10. Describe the work of the state board of education and that of the state superintendent of education in your state.

11. How are the school books selected in your state? In your city? Are they free to the children? What advantages and disadvantages result from free school books?

12. What do the public schools cost your city each year? Your county? Your state?

13. Compare the school community of which you are a member with the community outside of the school, as suggested on page 139 of this chapter.

14. How does the government of your school differ from the government of the city or town in which you live? What is the reason for this difference? Would it be wise to make the government of the school more like that of the city? Give your reasons. Look up plans of pupil self-government and report your opinion of them (see references below).

15. What are the compulsory education laws of your state? How are truants looked after in your community?

16. What reasons can you give why the high school should be maintained at the expense of the community, in spite of the small proportional attendance and the large proportional cost?

17. Make a list of the educational agencies in your community outside of the public school.

18. See the reports of your city superintendent of schools and report on improvements in your school system during the past few years. What recommendations for future improvement does he make?

19. Report on the present or possible use of schoolhouses in your community outside of school hours.

20. What means of discussion take the place of the town meeting in your community?

21. What improvements are being made in rural schools to adapt them to the needs of rural communities?

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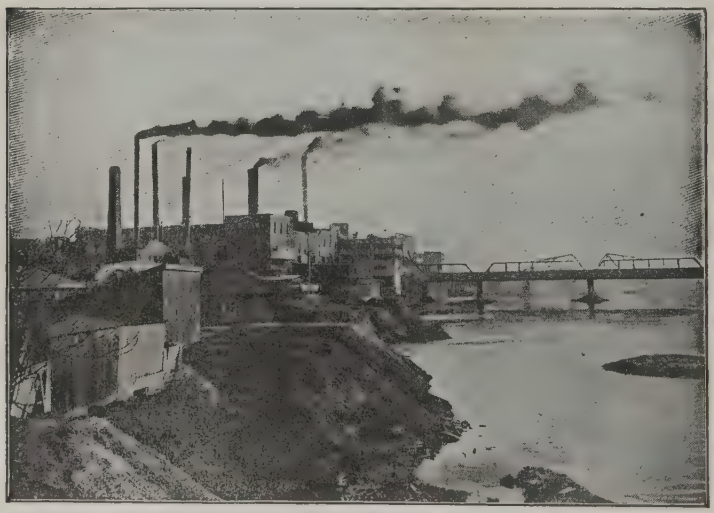
The U. S. Bureau of Education issues Bulletins on many phases of education. A list of these may be obtained by writing the Bureau.

THE MCKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

CHAPTER XVI

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN TO SATISFY HIS DESIRE FOR BEAUTIFUL SURROUNDINGS

In one important way the growth of communities has tended to destroy the beautiful surroundings of man. It



VIEW OF A RIVER FRONT.

Notice the unsightly sheds, the heaps of refuse, and the smoking factories.

Civilization destroys much beauty of nature

is a misfortune that much of the natural beauty of the landscape must disappear before the advance of civilization. The forest and the flower-clothed prairie are transformed into farms and building sites. The hills are cut away for the resources that they contain. The streams are lined with ugly and

noisy factories, and clogged with refuse. The sky is obscured with smoke.

The community, acting sometimes through the government and sometimes in other ways, may prevent a great deal of unnecessary destruction of the beauty of nature. The national government and some of the states have forestry bureaus, which have for their purpose the preservation of the forests. Needless pollution of streams may be checked by state

Unnecessary destruction of natural beauty

BOULEVARD ON THE BANK OF A STREAM.

This stream is thus made a most attractive feature in the heart of a large city.

laws, and their natural beauty in a measure preserved by preventing dilapidated and untidy premises along their banks in cities, and in some cases by converting their banks into parks. Sentiment may be aroused among the boys, in the school and otherwise, against the killing of birds. Much natural scenery may be preserved by the creation of national and state parks, as in the case of the Yellowstone and the Yosemite. Niagara Falls is now in

danger of being transformed from one of the great wonders of nature into a mere sluice for the turning of mill wheels unless the government can be induced by public sentiment to prevent it.

If natural beauty tends to disappear before the growth of communities, the opportunity for art increases. Beautiful houses and imposing business blocks make their appearance. Art galleries are founded. Religious organizations and institutions of other kinds grace the community with beautiful

Community life creates opportunities for art

A BEAUTIFUL BACK YARD.
By courtesy of the National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

churches and other structures. Schools cultivate the taste for beautiful things, and the people are taught how to enjoy life in ways that they could not if they lived in isolation.

The place to begin beautifying the community is in the home. The citizen who is careless about the appearance of his own home is almost sure to have little interest in the appearance of the rest of the community. A home that is unsightly takes away from the

Beauty in the home

enjoyment of all who see it. The first essential to beauty is neatness and orderliness. But it is possible to do more than merely to keep the premises clean and in order. Grass can be made to cover bare ground, or to take the place of weeds. There is almost always a spot for vines and flowers to grow, if it is only in window boxes. It is wonderful what a transformation has often taken place even among the crowded dwellings of the poor in the heart of cities, by

SCHOOL GARDENING IN ST. LOUIS.

the introduction of vines over the fences, a flower bed in the small rear yard, and boxes of growing plants at the windows. The practice of thus adorning the dwelling place is contagious, and spreads from home to home, and from neighborhood to neighborhood. One well-kept lawn in a neighborhood is followed by others, until whole squares and whole streets present an unbroken view of beauty.

It is wonderful how much children can do toward making the community beautiful in this way. In Cleveland

there is a Home Gardening Association, working chiefly through the school children, which has transformed home yards, school grounds, and vacant lots from barren and disorderly spots, in many cases, into beautiful flower and vegetable gardens. This Association early learned that "the easiest and surest way

The children's opportunity

A School Garden.
Picking and crating tomatoes.

to results is through the enthusiasm of youth." In most phases of community life we usually think that active citizenship is for men and women; but in the beautifying of the community, in which a high type of citizenship can be shown, the children may take an active and prominent part, and are doing so in many communities.

It is appropriate that the school and the home should work together in this matter. The school buildings scattered

throughout a city, and also in the country districts, should be centers of pride in their neighborhoods because of their beauty. Happily, communities are beginning to realize this, and the architecture of schools is improving. Even if the buildings are old and ugly, their surroundings, in most cases, can be made beautiful and in

Beauty in the school

A WELL-KEPT STREET.

Notice lawns, pavements, water hydrant, mail-box, telephone poles.

this the children can have a part. The work of the Cleveland Home Gardening Association began with the improvement of a school yard in the heart of the city.

A city is judged by the appearance of its streets perhaps more than in any other way, unless it is by the appearance of its homes. The eye passes naturally from one to the other. The street is public property. This means that each citizen has a share in it; he has a right to its use, and a right to expect that it will be kept in

Beauty in the street

good repair and good order. He also has a share of the responsibility for keeping it so. There was a time in certain cities when each householder was required to keep the street directly adjacent to his property swept and in good order. At first this was done by the householder himself, or by his servant. Then a group of neighbors would unite in employing some one to do it for the neighborhood, or for the whole street. In the course of time it was found that the work could be done better and more economically by placing it all under the direction of a central authority, and by having a body of men give their whole time to it. The expense was met by taxing the householders. Now that the care of the streets has been shifted from the individual householder to the government of the community, the householder has come to feel, in many cases, that he has also shifted the responsibility; but the employer is responsible for the work of those whom he employs.

Responsibility of the citizen

In city communities good pavements are perhaps the first essential to beautiful streets. Holes and uneven places are unsightly as well as unsafe. A rough pavement also adds to the noise of a city. The desire for the beautiful may be satisfied as much through the ear as through the eye. Noises are often our safeguards against danger. This is the excuse for gongs on street cars and fire engines, bells on bicycles, and whistles on locomotives. But the noise in most of our large cities is unnecessarily great and trying. In some cities ordinances exist to decrease the amount of noise, as where iron pipes must be wrapped before they are hauled through the streets, where the shrill whistle of interurban cars is forbidden within the city limits, or where the calling by hucksters and newsboys is forbidden.

Pavements; noise

In the matter of clean streets, as in so many other things, prevention is better than cure. Refuse is often swept or thrown into the streets, and paper is strewn along them that should be disposed of in some other way. Ordinances sometimes exist forbidding such unnecessary littering of the streets, but they are in the class of regulations commonly disregarded. In some

Littering the streets

A Street in St. Louis.

cities boxes are provided on the street corners to receive waste paper and other matter. Care must be taken that such boxes shall not themselves be unsightly.

It has been said by some observing persons that school children are largely responsible for the unsightly appearance of our streets from the scattering of scraps of paper. It may not be true that school children are any more inclined to throw scraps in the streets than other people. It is true, though, that they have unusual temptation, as they come from school with an accumulation of papers that they no longer want. Their large numbers make possible

a good deal of paper scattering in a few minutes. If children can do a great deal toward beautifying the community by gardening at home and on the school grounds, they can also do a great deal to prevent an un-

AN UNSIGHTLY NEIGHBORHOOD.

sightly appearance by refraining from throwing papers Habits formed in school go a long way in such matters Boys and girls who scatter scraps of paper in the school room and halls, will do the same thing on the streets and in other public places.

Among the most beautiful objects in nature are trees

They are also among the objects that have been most recklessly sacrificed by growing communities. Nothing adds more to the attractiveness of a village or a city than shaded lawns and tree-arched streets. What is more pleasant than a country road lined with beautiful trees?

The beauty of trees

The trees of many communities are suffering from the ravages of insects and parasites. The government is doing a great deal toward discovering means to destroy the tree pests, and to acquaint the people with these means. The trees also have enemies among men, to whom they would contribute so much in health and pleasure. In the first place, men clear away fine trees, sometimes necessarily, but often unnecessarily, to make way for so-called "improvements." Magnificent trees are sacrificed in order that an ordinary-looking house may be built at a particular spot. Often a home would be improved a hundred fold in appearance, if the trees were left and the house placed farther back or to one side. A great deal of monotony is produced in our streets and an opportunity for a display of artistic taste is lost, by building our houses too much alike, and all at exactly the same distance from the street, without regard to the nature of the lots or the disposition of the trees and other natural features upon them.

Destruction and mutilation of trees

In the second place we do not take sufficient care to replace trees that die, or that are necessarily cut down. In some European cities it is required by law that every tree that dies or is removed, unless removed to prevent crowding, must be replaced by another. Trees are of comparatively slow growth, and this may be one reason why householders hesitate to plant them, fearing that they may never get the benefit of them. This shows a lack of community

spirit. Arbor Day affords an opportunity for children to do something in this connection. The systematic planting of trees on this day not only helps to beautify the community at once, but is a splendid lesson in citizenship.

One of the worst kinds of tree mutilation is that which makes way for telegraph or telephone poles and wires. This is an evil that exists both in the country and in the city. Many a beautiful street or road has been made unsightly by such mutilation of trees. This is a matter for the community government to control; but the government will not usually act until the citizens show an interest in the preservation of the trees.

TREE MUTILATION ON A COUNTRY ROAD.

Telegraph, telephone, and trolley poles are in themselves unsightly. In the business portions of cities the network of wires is dangerous in time of fire, and this has led to their removal in many cities. This has been accomplished by placing the wires underground. Civic beauty has strong claims to the removal of such unsightly objects from the streets. Public sentiment is slowly being awakened in regard to this matter, and the time is coming when the view of a beautiful street will not be obstructed by lines of ugly poles and a network of wires.

Poles and wires

Another means of disfiguring our streets is by a reckless use of advertising. Men have a right to attract attention to their wares; but thought should be given to the means, the time, and the place of doing so. We allow beautiful features of our com-

Advertisements and billboards

munities to be marred, and ugly features made more ugly, by permitting citizens to exercise perfect freedom in advertising for private gain. Unattractive signs are nailed to beautiful trees, which should not be marred by any kind of sign. Ugly telephone poles are made still uglier by the same means. Attractive residence streets are made unattractive

A View in a City Park.

by huge billboards with inartistic signs upon them. Even the signs on business blocks, where they have a right to be, are often inartistic and wholly out of harmony with the architecture of the street.

All cities have their systems of parks and boulevards, though they are developed more fully in some cities than in others. Boston has 15,000 acres devoted to parks, which are connected with each other by boulevards, and include a stretch of ocean beach. Some

Parks and boulevards

cities have preserved in their midst a bit of natural scenery to refresh the eye. In some of the larger cities spaces are being cleared of tumble-down buildings in the crowded portions to make way for small parks with grass and trees, flowers and fountains, which may bring a little pleasure into the lives of those who seldom enjoy the fresh air of the country.

AN UNIMPROVED CORNER.
The same corner is shown improved in the next illustration.
By courtesy of the National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

Such is the little park at Mulberry Bend, in New York, which was once the center of the most vicious part of the slums. Parks and boulevards are under the care of boards of park commissioners, who sometimes also have care over the trees of all the streets. Sometimes the trees are placed under the charge of special tree commissioners or foresters.

Prevention of smoke

Smoke is another of the accompaniments of growing communities. Smoke, like the network of wires in the streets, has been assumed to be a necessary sign of material prosperity. As the wires are dis-

appearing beneath the surface of the streets, it is also being found that clouds of black smoke are not necessary to industry. A few large cities have earnestly determined to be free from the smoke, ordinances have been passed and enforced against it, and the beauty of the communities has been greatly increased as a result.

A Corner Improved.
The same as in the preceding illustration.
By courtesy of the National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

Ugly features of community life have been mentioned only to emphasize the fact that our communities are doing more to-day than ever before to get rid of them. There is a steady improvement in the character of the architecture in our cities. The people of small means are living, not only in more comfortable homes, but in more beautiful ones. Their taste for beauty and refinement is steadily growing. The streets are constantly becoming more pleasant to look upon. Art museums are being established in increasing

The desire for beauty is growing stronger in our communities

numbers. Civic Improvement Associations and similar organizations exist in almost every city and town. Cities themselves are more thoughtfully planning their growth by reserving lands for parks and parkways, by laying out boulevards, by grouping public buildings, by regulating the height of buildings, and by preventing the growth of slums. But there is still much to be accomplished in this direction, and its accomplishment depends on the citizens of the present and the future.

Beautiful surroundings produce better citizenship

The improvement in the surroundings of the people is bound to produce a better citizenship. Men and women lose their spirits, become depressed, when their surroundings are unpleasant. They lose hope and ambition. Much of the vice and crime of large cities is no doubt induced by this cause. One of the first steps toward transforming men and women into good citizens, who will contribute to the welfare of the community, is to give them pleasant surroundings.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Has any natural scenery been destroyed by the growth of your community? Was it altogether necessary?

2. Is anything being done in your community to prevent unnecessary destruction of natural beauty?

3. What relation has the killing of birds to civic beauty?

4. Report on the use of Niagara Falls as a power for industrial purposes. What is being done to preserve this natural wonder? Do you think that the usefulness of the Falls in industry justifies the destruction of their beauty?

5. Is your community notable for its beautiful homes? In what sections of the community is the greatest care taken in this respect? Why is it?

6. Observe the premises of the homes in your neighborhood, beginning with your own, with reference to the care of the lawn; growth of weeds; the accumulation of rubbish; the neatness of the back yards;

the growth of flowers; the care of the streets and alleys adjoining. Make a report of conditions, and suggest improvements.

7. Let each pupil report a plan to improve the appearance of his own yard. Begin a systematic movement to put these plans into effect.

8. Is your school as beautiful as it could be in the appearance of the yard? In the care of the halls and rooms? Could you do anything to improve it? Do the people in the neighborhood take pride in the school building and grounds? If not, how could they be made to do so?

9. Are the streets in your community beautiful? If not, what are their defects? If they are, what constitutes their beauty?

10. Report on the character of the pavements with reference to their appearance.

11. What noises in your community are unnecessary? How could they be lessened?

12. What is done in your community to keep the streets clean? What ordinances exist on this matter? Are they observed and enforced?

13. Observe the trees in your neighborhood, in streets and lawns, and report on their general condition and appearance. Is care taken to preserve beautiful trees? Is anything being done in a systematic way in tree planting? Are the trees being mutilated or destroyed by linemen or otherwise? Is any attempt being made to create a sentiment in favor of the trees? Does the city government provide any one to care for the trees in the streets?

14. Make a report on street advertisements in your neighborhood. Observe whether the appearance of the streets, or of private property, is marred by such advertisements.

15. Report on the parks and boulevards of your community. Describe their points of beauty. Are they used by the people freely? How are they managed?

16. What societies exist in your community to improve its appearance? How do they work?

17. Is your community active at the present time in beautifying the streets and public places by the erection of statuary, monuments, fountains, and in other ways?

18. Is the architecture of your community improving in character? Observe residences, business blocks, churches, schools, and public buildings.

19. Select one of the most beautiful buildings in your community and give a detailed description of it.

20. Is anything being done in your community to cultivate a taste for beautiful surroundings among those who live in the tenements, or in the poorer quarters of the city?

21. Make a report on city planning. If any plan exists for your city, describe it with the help of maps and diagrams.

22. Write an essay on the relation between civic beauty and good citizenship.

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CHAPTER XVII

HOW THE COMMUNITY AIDS THE CITIZEN TO SATISFY HIS RELIGIOUS DESIRE

THE community described in the first chapter grew around the college and the church, which occupied the most important place in the minds and hearts of the settlers. Every one of those first families was deeply religious. The simple social life of the early days centered chiefly in the church. The only government of the village, for a brief period, was the government of the church organization. These people were of Puritan descent and principles, and they remind us of the colonists of New England.

The love of religion has played a very important part in the history of the world. Perhaps no other motive has driven men to action more powerfully than this. In the history of our land this is shown. The desire for the spread of religion was not the least of the motives that brought Columbus to America. The Spaniards made their conquests in the name of religion, and they established missions wherever they went. The priests led the way in the French exploration and settlement of America. The Pilgrims came to Plymouth to find freedom of religious worship, and all through the history of the various colonies religious questions had an important influence.

Religion has been a powerful motive in history

When the English colonies in America were founded, England, like most other countries of the world, had a state religion and a state church. That is, the government

prescribed what form of religion the people must observe. The Puritans came to America because they could not conform to these requirements, and desired liberty to worship as they believed to be right. We might think that, since they desired religious liberty for themselves, when they came to America they should have granted equal liberty to others who came to their settlements. Such was not the case. The Puritans were intolerant of all who differed from them in religious matters. They hated the religious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. They drove the Quakers away from their settlements, and even put some of them to death. Roger Williams was driven out from Massachusetts partly because of his religious views. The Roman Catholics, the Quakers, and the Episcopalians were about as intolerant of the Puritans and of each other as the Puritans were of them. It was considered a remarkable thing when Maryland was founded by Roman Catholics and Protestants together, and that they lived side by side in harmony.

Religious intolerance in colonial times

In most of the colonies there was a very close relation between the church and the government, as there was in England, although it was not always the Church of England that was recognized in the colonies. In some colonies no one could enjoy full political rights, such as the right to vote and to hold office, except members of the church officially recognized in the colony. In New England the ministers were usually the most influential men in the affairs of government. Many of the laws were taken directly from the Bible, and men were tried in the courts and punished for violation of commonly accepted religious beliefs, as for breaking the Sabbath or swearing. Thus in various ways the government controlled the religious life of the people.

The relation between the church and the government in colonial times

After the Revolution the connection between the church and the government gradually became less complete. Restrictions on the right to vote because of religious beliefs rapidly disappeared. With the growth of democratic ideas, according to which one man has as much right to his opinions as another; with the increasing immigration of people of different nationality and religious belief; and with the development of means of communication by which people of different sections were brought into contact with one another, men became more tolerant of each other's beliefs and forms of worship. It came to be recognized that a man's religious opinions were a matter for his own individual conscience, not to be dictated or controlled by government.

Separation between religion and the government

Accordingly, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, an amendment was added declaring that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (Amendment I). The federal Constitution does not, however, prohibit the states from exercising control over matters of religion. Some of the states continued, for a time, to require religious qualifications for voting. Some refused to accept testimony in the courts from persons who denied the existence of God. In a few cases churches have received aid from the state. Nevertheless, most state constitutions now prohibit governmental support of churches, although it is customary for state governments to exempt from taxation the property of churches.

The Ordinance of 1787, in providing for the first government of the Northwest Territory, said, "Religion, morality, and education being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Religion and

education are here coupled together and recognized as two of the greatest influences in the progress of a nation. A man's beliefs have much to do with his conduct. His religion consists of his attitude, not only toward God, but also toward his fellow-men. It teaches him to love his neighbor as himself, and to do unto others as he would be done by. If all men did these things, we should have better communities and better citizenship. But so far as our government is concerned, its attitude toward the religious life of the citizen is merely to allow the greatest possible personal liberty in the matter, and to offer the fullest opportunity for religious influences to develop the qualities of good citizenship.

The attitude of our government toward religion

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Make a list of some of the great historical events in the world that were due to religious causes.
2. Let individual pupils make reports on the following topics:
a. The religious life of the Puritans in New England.
b. The story of the Quakers in Pennsylvania.
c. The story of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson.
d. Religious toleration in Maryland.
e. The relation between the church and the government in colonial Massachusetts.
3. Report on the religious life of your community in early days.
4. What different religious sects or denominations are represented in your community to-day? What other religious organizations are there besides the churches? What do they do for the community?
5. Are there any schools, hospitals, or other institutions in your community supported by religious organizations?
6. What does the constitution of your state say about religion?
7. What provision is there about teaching religion in the public schools? Why is this?

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CHAPTER XVIII

WHAT THE COMMUNITY DOES FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT OR WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO ITS PROGRESS

THERE are three classes of persons who contribute nothing to the advancement of the community. The first class consists of those who are physically or mentally unable to do so, a class known as defectives. The second class consists of those who, though physically able to do something, are, nevertheless, not self-supporting, and depend on the community to support them. These are called dependents. The third class consists of those who live in positive violation of the law of the community. These are criminals. These three classes of people have to be taken account of in every community, and if they cannot be made to contribute to the common welfare, they must at least be prevented from doing harm.

Defectives, dependents, and delinquents

There was a time in the development of mankind when the physically defective — the blind, the crippled, the hopelessly ill, and the aged — were such a serious burden to the community that it was considered necessary to put them to death. This was a time when the very existence of the community depended on the physical strength of its members. If a man was not a fighter and a food getter, he endangered the existence of his fellows. He had to be fed from the hard-earned stores of the others, and had to be defended against enemies. Many savage tribes put to death the

Treatment of the helpless by the uncivilized

hopelessly sick, the aged, and the crippled. The ancient Spartans exposed sickly children to die upon the mountains.

As men have become civilized, as sympathy for others has become stronger, and as it has become easier to sustain life, the weak and the helpless have been taken under the care of the strong, and it is now considered the duty of the community to provide for those who are physically unable to care for themselves. In many cases the defective may be benefited to such an extent that he may become self-supporting, and able even to contribute something to the welfare of the community. The blind and the deaf and dumb may be educated by special methods so that they may engage in various occupations for their own support and happiness. The government has established schools and asylums for these unfortunate classes. The government also maintains hospitals for the insane, where they are not only prevented from doing harm to others, but where they are also made happier, and often cured and restored to usefulness. There are institutions for the helplessly crippled and the hopelessly ill, where their suffering may at least be alleviated. There are also institutions for the homeless aged, and for orphaned children.

It is the duty of the community to care for the helpless

The work of caring for this class of citizens is in the hands of the state, not of the national government. Local communities, and especially cities, often do much for the care of their defective members. But the work is so costly that it is chiefly concentrated in the hands of the state government, which maintains institutions for the purpose in a few favorable localities, to which the sufferers are brought from all parts of the state.

It is a care of the state

The dependent class of people, as distinguished from the

defective class, consists of those who through poverty are a burden on the community. Poverty may be due to physical inability to provide for one's self. If this is the case, there are the institutions already mentioned to care for such dependents. But the poverty may be due, in some cases, merely to bad management and a lack of foresight. It may often be due to drunkenness on the part of one or both of the parents, or to lazy and shiftless habits, or to a desire to live at the expense of others rather than by honest effort.

Poverty

The care of the poor was at one time almost wholly in the hands of the church, and the church still does a great deal to this end. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a law was passed by the English parliament requiring each parish to care for its own poor. Since then the government has done much to relieve poverty, and poor laws were enacted in America modeled after those of England. Poor relief is considered a matter for the local community to regulate.

Poor relief

Poverty has always appealed to the sympathies of people, and voluntary efforts on the part of individuals and societies to relieve it have long been common. Until recently this relief has been offered in an altogether disorganized way, each giver giving as he saw fit, without knowledge of the real needs of the applicant for relief, or of what other persons and societies were doing. This kind of charity has sometimes done more harm than good. It may, indeed, often relieve the suffering of the really needy; but it has just as often encouraged the unworthy to expect charity, and has tended to increase the dependent class instead of diminishing it. There are many people who will make no effort to support themselves so long as they feel that others will support

The danger in unorganized charity

them. Many professional beggars make a good living by taking advantage of the sympathies of random givers. During a certain period of great suffering among the very poor of American cities, due to unusually hard times, free eating houses were established in the hope of relieving the situation. The free food attracted hundreds away from the work they had, and greatly increased the army of the unemployed. Thoughtless or unwise giving may make paupers of many who would otherwise be self-supporting.

In nearly all of our large cities at the present time, and in many of the smaller ones, the relief of the poor is becoming more systematic. Charity bureaus, or societies, have been created, which seek to secure coöperation among all the charitable organizations of the community. They investigate the worthiness of applicants for relief. They expose impostors, of whom there are a great many. They seek to remove the causes of poverty rather than merely to relieve the needs of the poor for the time being. They find employment for those who need it and are able to take it. They wage war against the evils of tenement life. They encourage the unfortunate by giving them better opportunities and by creating in them new ideals of life.

Charity organization

It is of course necessary and desirable to relieve actual suffering by gifts of food, clothing, and other necessities. It is much more important to provide an opportunity, and to create a desire, for self-support by productive work. It is better for the unfortunate individual, for it gives him greater self-respect, and makes him more independent; and it is better for the community, because it transforms those who have been a burden to others into producers and contributors to the general welfare.

The third class of persons who contribute no good to

the community is the criminal class. This may be said to include all offenders against the law and order of the community, the enemies to the rights of other people.

Crime

The method of dealing with criminals has changed very greatly in the progress of civilization. Formerly the main idea was punishment, or retaliation. It was "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life." Well into the last century, even in our own country, the penalties inflicted were often terrible. Offenders were imprisoned in dark and filthy underground cells. Tongues were pierced, ears cut off, and marks branded upon the body with hot irons. Prisoners were placed in stocks and held up to the ridicule and abuse of passers-by.

Treatment of criminals in early times

At the present time our ideas of the treatment of criminals are very different. The criminal is still an offender against the community, and he is still believed to deserve punishment of some kind. Much more important than the punishment of the criminal, however, is the protection of the community against any future crimes. Two ideas are uppermost in our present methods of dealing with criminals. The first is to place them, temporarily at least, where they cannot harm the community. The second is to reform them — or to cure them, for crime is now considered as a result of a mental and moral, if not physical, disease. Except in the case of the very worst crimes, which may be punishable by death or life imprisonment, the effort is usually made to return the offender to the community, in the course of time, as a useful citizen. Cruel and inhuman punishments have been abandoned. The death penalty has been abolished, even for murder,

The protection of the community and the reformation of the criminal

in some states. It is now quite common to imprison offenders with an indeterminate sentence; that is, they are sent to prison for a period the length of which will depend on the conduct of the prisoner himself and on the inclination he shows to live right in the community. Prisoners are comfortably housed and clothed, and are given wholesome food and, if necessary, medical attention. Where the prisoners are illiterate, they are often given instruction in the common branches of education. They are made to work, not so much with the idea of punishment as to teach them habits of industry and to instruct them in some manner of making an honest living.

The prevention of crime

Greater care than formerly is now taken to prevent crime, in preference to punishing the criminal after the crime is committed. Youthful offenders are sent to reform schools, rather than to prisons designed for more hardened criminals. It was once the custom to imprison young offenders, guilty of some minor offense, together with older and hardened criminals guilty of serious crimes. The result of this was to harden the younger ones by association with the others. In a few cities juvenile courts have been established, where only young offenders are tried. Those who have just begun their criminal career are often not punished at all, but are placed on probation; that is, they are given their liberty, but under the eyes of probation officers, or "official parents," who look after them and aid them to get a start in life. Many, who would by punishment be hardened, are thus led to become good citizens.

The regulation of crime and the correction of criminals are almost wholly under the control of the state governments. What is considered a crime in one state is not always a crime in another state; that is, while the

act may be just as harmful to the community in one state as in another, some states may have no law on the subject. Unless an act is in violation of the law, it is not legally a crime and cannot be punished as such. The same crime may be punishable in different ways in different states, because the kind of punishment is determined by state law. It would be well if the states could agree more closely in regard to what constitutes crime, and how it should be treated.

Regulation of crime by the state

The national government has jurisdiction over some kinds of crimes. Since the entire government of the territories and of the District of Columbia is in the hands of Congress, this body defines crime in these places and fixes its penalties. Crimes against national law, wherever they are committed, are punishable by the national government. The accused person is tried before a federal court in the state where the crime is committed. For instance, violation of the postal laws, counterfeiting money, or evading the laws for the regulation of interstate commerce are crimes punishable by the national government. The national government also has jurisdiction over crimes against the laws of nations, as contained in treaties, and over piracy. One crime against the nation is punishable by death, — treason, the worse crime recognized by civilized nations. The Constitution defines treason against the United States as "levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" (Art. III, sec. 3). In order to convict a person of treason there must be two witnesses of the treasonable act to give evidence against him.

Regulation of crime by the national government

In order that no injustice may be done to innocent persons, the rights of accused persons are protected care-

fully by the Constitution of the United States. It is a principle of law that every accused person is assumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. Every precaution is taken to secure for him a fair trial. He is entitled to a trial by a jury of his fellow-citizens in the locality where the crime occurred. The accusing witnesses must give their evidence to the court in the presence of the accused and he is entitled to witnesses in his favor, as well as lawyers to defend him. He may not be compelled to testify against himself. These are a few of the careful provisions made to protect even a guilty citizen against injustice.

The protection of the rights of the accused

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What public institutions are there in your community for the care of defective persons? Are there any private institutions of a similar kind?
2. Make a list of all the institutions and associations that you know of in your community for the care of the poor.
3. Is there charity organization in your community? Find out its methods of work.
4. What does your local government do for the relief of the poor?
5. Report on the treatment of criminals in colonial times. (See McMaster, "History of the American People," vol. I, pp. 93–102.)
6. What reform schools are there in your state? How are the inmates of these schools dealt with?
7. Is there a juvenile court in your community? If so, report on its work, and describe the work of the probation officers.
8. Debate the question, "Capital punishment should be abolished."

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CHAPTER XIX

HOW THE CITIZENS OF A COMMUNITY GOVERN THEMSELVES

We have now looked at the life of the community from several points of view. We have seen that the people are striving to satisfy their desires in a variety of ways. We have seen that there are common interests, and that the welfare of one is the welfare of all. Yet it does not always seem so. Men do not always recognize their dependence on, and obligation to, others. Sometimes they lack sufficient knowledge to do so. Sometimes they selfishly disregard the rights of others, as, for example, when a man persists in clouding the atmosphere with smoke from his factory, although he knows it is injuring the community; or when a railroad charges unjust rates, or affords inadequate facilities for transportation. Consequently we often get the impression that community life is a life of conflict rather than of harmonious action. Under such imperfect conditions there must be some just agency that is more far-sighted than any individual can be, to secure the intelligent working together of all. Such an agency government is intended to be.

The purpose of government

The first idea that we must understand about government in America is that it is *intended to be the servant of the people and not their master.* When it begins to act contrary to the will of the people, it goes beyond its rightful powers.

Government the servant, not the master, of the people

The American colonists sought their independence from England because the English government insisted on taxing them, and otherwise exercising authority over them, *without their consent.* In 1787 a convention of leading men of the country, chosen by their respective states, met in Philadelphia, and after four months of discussion laid before the people of the thirteen states a Constitution, containing a plan of government. The preamble of this Constitution emphasizes the fact that this government was established by the people to do certain things for them.

Direct and representative self-government

The simplest form of self-government is where the people meet together and make their own laws. Such was the town meeting in New England. When the community grows large, it becomes impracticable for the citizens to attend to the details of government by such means. Then they resort to the plan of selecting certain of their number to perform the work of government for them. This is *representative* self-government. The representatives *of* the people, chosen *by* the people, act *for* the people.

The threefold character of our government

The next fact about our government that we must understand is its threefold character. In the preceding chapters there has been constant reference to *local*, *state*, and *national* governments. Each of us is under the control of all three. It might seem, at first thought, that we are greatly oppressed with government. We must remember that *we, the people*, are our own rulers, and that we have simply found it more convenient and more to our advantage to have three groups of governing machinery than one. Each group has its particular work to do for us. Let us now see how the *division of powers* is made among them.

The first division of powers is that between the state and national governments. When the Constitution was made, the thirteen states were already in existence, each with its own government organized under a state constitution. Why, then, was it necessary to have a national government in addition? It was because while the states were thirteen separate communities in many particulars, they were, in other particulars, only parts of one community with certain interests common to all alike. This was illustrated in chapter XII (see page 100). The union of a number of states under a central government constitutes a *federal nation.* The central government is called the *federal government.*

Division of powers between national and state governments

The federal government may exercise only such powers as are granted to it by the people in the Constitution, and these powers are few in number though very important. They are enumerated in section 8 of article I of the Constitution. All other powers are left with the states. The tenth amendment to the Constitution says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states [see Art. I, sec. 10], are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." By this arrangement the states retain by far the greater part of the governing powers. Where the national government controls our conduct once, the state government controls it many times. The state government protects us in our religious rights (chapter XVII), provides for our education (chapter XV), determines who shall have the right to vote (page 188), prescribes the rules of marriage and of family relations, has almost the entire care of our health (chapter IX), protects our property (chapter X), controls business relations of every kind except where foreign and interstate

relations are concerned (chapter XII), and provides for the prevention and punishment of crime, except in a very few cases that come under national control, such as the counterfeiting of money and the robbing of the mails (chapter XVIII).

In this division of powers between state and national governments we see the American love for self-government emphasized. The people of each state retain for themselves the regulation of almost all the details of their lives. In the course of our history, however, as the nation has become more closely bound together by common interests, and as one part has become more dependent upon others, there has been a constant tendency for the national government to extend the scope of its powers by a *broad interpretation* of certain clauses in the Constitution. For example, it was by a broad interpretation of the power to regulate interstate commerce that Congress enacted pure food laws, thus protecting the health of the people, which has been considered primarily a duty of the state, against the distribution of injurious or unwholesome food materials. In other ways the national government is extending its activities in behalf of the public welfare, where the interests of the nation as a whole demand it.

Relation between state and local governments

The second division of the powers of government is between the central state government and the government of local communities. The relation between the local and state governments is somewhat different from the relation between the state and the national governments. The state governments are in no sense branches of the national government. State and national governments both get their powers directly from the people. The local governments are merely branches of the state government, and get their

1. The road in its original condition.

2. Laying the foundation course.

3. Finishing the road.

ROAD MAKING BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

This road in Tennessee was selected for improvement as an object lesson. The photographs were furnished by the Public Roads Inquiry Office, Dept. of Agriculture.

powers from it, and not from the people of the local community. The state government is organized according to a plan laid down in the state constitution, which is *framed by the people themselves.* A city government is organized according to a plan laid down in a *charter*, which is *granted to the people of the city by the state.* The local governments have for their work primarily the carrying out of the laws enacted by the state government. Their duties are chiefly *administrative.* For example, there is a state law against burglary; but it is the local officers who protect property against burglars and arrest offenders. Local governments are allowed some law-making powers, especially in cities, where the city council enacts ordinances (see chapter XXII). The principle of the division of powers between state and local governments, however, is the same as in the division between national and state governments; that is, to leave matters that touch the life of the individual most closely, and are of purely local interest, in the hands of the local government as much as possible, while matters of more general interest, such as the regulation of the railroads and matters of general health, are regulated by the central state government.

The relation of the different governments to each other and to the people is shown by the diagram on page 186.

A third important feature of the organization of our government is the *separation of powers* among the three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial. The laws are made by the legislative branch. The enforcement of these laws is intrusted to the executive branch. If any question arises as to the meaning of the laws, it is finally settled by the judicial branch. The purpose of the separation of powers is to prevent any one man, or group of men, from

The separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers

The people govern themselves through the machinery of

- **National Government** — Which has control over matters of national interest, such as
  - Common defense
  - Foreign Commerce
  - Interstate Commerce
  - Coinage
  - Post Office
  - Punishment of crimes against United States laws

and

- **Central Government** — Which has control over matters of general state interest, such as
  - Business relations
  - Family relations
  - Crime
  - Education
  - Protection of health
  - Protection of property rights

and

- **State Governments which are divided into**
  - Township
  - County
  - Village
  - City

  — Local Governments — Which administer the laws of the state and have law-making powers in such matters as
  - Paving streets
  - Building bridges
  - Regulating speed of vehicles and other matters of purely local interest

acquiring too much authority and becoming despotic. The legislative body may restrain the executive by refusing to appropriate money for executive purposes, as often happened in the colonies; or it may impeach the executive (see page 256). The executive may *veto* a law passed by the legislature. The judicial branch has the final power to determine whether a law is in accordance with the constitution. There is thus *a system of checks and balances* by which each branch of government is restrained by the others, thus safeguarding the liberties of the people. This system is found, to a greater or less extent, in local, state, and national governments, though it is less definite in cities.

Representatives chosen by the people from their own local districts

It is a principle of American government that the people's representatives shall be chosen by the people of the various localities from their own number. The English colonists in America felt that they were not represented in the House of Commons, because they did not have a voice in choosing representatives to that body, nor did any member of the House come from America. In the early history of Massachusetts the people gradually allowed the taxing power to fall into the hands of a few men called the governor's assistants, who held office from year to year without reëlection. One day the people at Watertown decided "that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." Therefore "every town chose two men [from its own citizens] to be at the next court to advise with the governor and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all." This idea has determined the usual practice in the United States. City councils commonly consist of representatives from the

several city wards, though this is not always true. In some states at least, each township has its representatives on the board of county commissioners. Each state is divided into districts, from each of which a representative is sent to the state legislature, and into other districts from each of which a representative is sent to the lower house of the national Congress. Each state has two representatives in the United States Senate.

The right to vote for representatives in the government is called the suffrage. It is not a right that all citizens possess, like the right to life, liberty, and property. It is a privilege bestowed by the state on those who have certain qualifications. These qualifications are prescribed by the state constitutions. Only in one case does the United States Constitution limit the right of the state to regulate the suffrage; that limitation is found in the fifteenth amendment, adopted after the Civil War, which reads, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The suffrage

At the beginning of our history the right to vote was limited to a relatively small number of the citizens. These restrictions have largely been removed. We have become more *democratic*. But there are still some restrictions, which vary more or less in the different states. In no state may any one vote who is under twenty-one years of age. All states require a residence in the state, and in the county and city ward, for a certain time prior to voting. In colonial times the right to vote was denied to all who did not own a certain amount of property. To-day property restrictions have been almost wholly removed. It was also common, in colonial times, to

Qualifications for the suffrage

deny the right to vote to all who were not members of the church (see page 170). All religious qualifications have long since been removed. The suffrage is denied to citizens who are mentally unsound, and in some states to those who cannot read and write, and to paupers. A citizen may also be disqualified from voting by crime. With comparatively few exceptions, all male citizens who are twenty-one years of age or over possess the suffrage. In a few states even aliens may vote at all elections, provided they have declared their intention of becoming citizens.

The suffrage has long been denied to women, but there is now a strong movement in favor of extending it to them. As early as 1691 women property holders in colonial Massachusetts were permitted to vote. New Jersey by its first constitution gave the suffrage to women, provided they owned a certain amount of property, but the right was taken from them early in the last century. Since that time, the first state to grant the suffrage to women on full equality with men was Wyoming, which entered the Union in 1890 with a constitutional provision for it. Colorado followed the example of Wyoming in 1893, and Utah and Idaho in 1896. Not until 1910 did another state extend full suffrage to women, when the state of Washington did so, followed during the next two years by California, Kansas, Oregon and Arizona.

Woman suffrage

In addition to these nine states which at present possess complete woman suffrage, Illinois now permits women to vote for presidential electors, for all elective city officers, and for some state and county officers; the suffrage has been granted to the women of the territory of Alaska; about twenty states permit women to vote on school questions, or to exercise the suffrage in other restricted ways; and a number of states are about to submit to a vote of the

people amendments to their constitutions which, if adopted, will very much extend the political equality of women.

Nominations

If at an election each voter should cast his vote for the man of his individual choice, it might easily happen that among the many men voted for no one would fairly represent a large number of citizens. It is necessary that the choice of the voters be limited to a few men who are nominated as the regular candidates for the offices in question. The method of nomination that has long been practiced is very complicated. It was not prescribed in the state or national constitutions, nor by law, but grew up gradually and became fixed by custom. In order to understand it, it is necessary to know something about political parties.

Political parties

In every community there are differences of opinion on almost any question, as in religion, in educational matters, or in business policy. If any such question is to be acted upon, those whose opinions are alike will act together in opposition to those who think differently. In questions of government there are differences of opinion. In the division of the people on any such question, those who think alike and *act together systematically and constantly* constitute a political party. The party may be of a local character and may be formed with reference to a local question, such as the paving of the streets or the licensing of saloons; or it may be national in its extent and arise out of some great national question, such as the extension of slavery or the acquiring of new territory.

When Washington was first elected President, questions of governmental policy had not yet divided the people, and his popularity was so great that all united on him as their choice for the presidency. When differences of opinion arose over the bank, foreign policy, internal im-

provements, and other matters, each party strove to elect representatives to the government who would carry out its ideas. It must first of all agree on a single candidate for each of the offices, so that the party's vote would not be divided.

Methods of nominating candidates

The first method used by the parties for the nomination of a candidate for the presidency was for the representatives of each party in Congress to meet and make the nomination. This method after a while became unpopular because the nomination fell into the hands of a small group of politicians, and the people felt that they did not have a sufficient voice in the matter. Then the custom arose of making the nominations in the several states. Sometimes it was done by the party members of the state legislature. The custom gradually began to prevail of holding state conventions composed of delegates elected especially for the purpose by the people of the state. This method had the advantage of placing the nomination more directly in the hands of the people. It had the disadvantage of tending to divide the party, for each state was likely to nominate its own favorite candidate regardless of the action of the other states. This difficulty was finally overcome by placing the nomination of the candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency in the hands of a national convention composed of delegates from all the states. This is the method still in use for the nomination of the President and the Vice-President.

Primary elections

For the nomination of officers other than the President and Vice-President the nominating convention is giving way, in some states, to another method which is described on page 193. But since it is still widely used let us briefly describe the steps leading to it. Let us suppose that an election time is approaching, and

that local, state, and national officers are to be elected at one time, although this is not always the case. Several months before the election day, the proper committees of each party call for what have been known as the *primary elections*. These must not be confused with the direct primaries to be described later. The so-called primary elections are elections held in each of the smallest (primary) election districts of the state. In cities the primary district is a *ward*, or precinct of the ward; in rural communities it is the township, or precinct of the township. It is the business of the primary election to nominate candidates for offices of the primary district, as ward councilmen or township trustees, and *to elect delegates to nominating conventions of larger districts*. This business is transacted sometimes by ballot, each voter going to the voting place some time during the day; sometimes in a meeting, or *caucus*, of the voters, very much on the order of a town-meeting.

Nominating conventions

The primary elections are followed in due time by the various conventions to nominate candidates for the offices of the districts which they represent, and to choose delegates to still other conventions for larger districts. County conventions nominate for county offices; city conventions for city offices; assembly district conventions for the lower house of the state legislature; senatorial district conventions for the state senate; congressional district conventions for the lower house of congress; and state conventions for state offices. The state conventions elect delegates to the national convention for the nomination of the President and Vice-President. The nominees are chosen from among a number of men who have previously been announced as candidates, or who have been determined upon by the party managers.

Faithful party members are expected by the party managers to render their support to the candidates nominated by their respective primaries and conventions; but at every election there are many independent voters who scratch their ballots, that is, scratch off the names of some of their party candidates and substitute the names of candidates of other parties. This is largely due to the fact that many voters think it more important to elect good men than that any particular party should possess all the offices. Ballot scratching has been more common in local elections than in national elections, because party lines are not so clearly drawn in the former as in the latter; but it has been increasing even in national elections, and seems to indicate that the voters are forming the habit of deciding for themselves as to the desirability of candidates, instead of allowing a group of party leaders to decide for them.

Independent voting

The method of nomination that has just been described is not only complicated, but it is objected to on other grounds, chiefly because it places the determination of the candidates for election in the hands of a few party leaders instead of in the hands of the people themselves. In many states, therefore, it has already been supplanted by nomination by *direct primaries*. In most of the states that have adopted this method, both state and local officers are so nominated, but in others the direct primary is used only for the nomination of local officers, the state officers being nominated by the convention system as of old. It seems probable that the direct primary will soon become the regular method of nomination in all states.

Nomination by direct primaries

The methods of conducting direct primaries differ in different states; but, in general, any citizen possessing

the proper qualifications for holding office may become a candidate for nomination to a given office by securing the signatures of a specified number of voters to a petition. His name is then placed on the primary ballot of his party along with the names of all others who have filed similar petitions. On the day of the primaries the voters go to the polls, or voting places, and cast their ballots as at a regular election, after having marked the names of the candidates of their choice. The candidate for a given office who receives the largest number of votes (in some cases a majority is required) becomes the nominee of his party for that office. The direct primary is followed in due time by the regular election, at which the contest is between the nominees of the various parties.

Presidential preferential primaries

While the President of the United States is still nominated by a national convention, in a number of states laws have been passed providing for *presidential preferential primaries*, at which the voters at the polls express their preference for the presidential candidate. The delegates to the national conventions from a state holding such a primary are thus instructed by the voters for whom to vote as their nominee. Bills have been introduced in Congress to provide for presidential nominating primaries throughout the United States. So far none of these has become law; but, if such a law is enacted, it will do away with the national conventions for nominating the President and Vice-President.

The campaign

The period of three or four months between the nominations and the election day is spent by each party in trying to win support for its candidates. The winning of votes sometimes seems to be the all-important thing, not always, unfortunately, with due regard to the right or wrong of the methods used.

At a specified time before election day, every voter is required to *register* at his proper voting place. This means recording his name, age, residence, and other information necessary to prove his right to vote, and is intended to prevent fraudulent voting. On election day he again goes to the polls, is given a ballot upon which

Registration and election

AN ELECTION SCENE.

Each voter has his name checked off from the book where it is registered, and then passes into the building, where he casts his vote.

are printed the names of all candidates, and in the privacy of a voting booth marks the names of those candidates for whom he wishes to cast his vote. He then hands his ballot folded to an election officer who deposits it in the ballot box to await counting at the end of the election day.

To arrange for the nominations, to carry on the campaign, and to provide for the elections, requires a thorough organization of the party. The management is largely in

the hands of committees. Each of the election districts named above, from the ward to the state and nation, has its central committee. It is the business of these committees to keep in touch with the voters, to gather and distribute information, to collect and disburse funds for the conduct of the campaign, to provide speakers, publish literature, and to do many other things. The committees of the larger districts, and especially the state and national committees, are of great importance and exert great influence. The chairmanship of the national committee is sought by ambitious men as much as the highest public offices in our government.

Organization of the party

We have been speaking, for convenience, as if there were only one campaign and one election time for all offices in our government, local, state, and national. This is not, in fact, the case. The terms are not the same length for all offices. The President and the Vice-President are elected for four years, members of the House of Representatives for two years, judges for the state courts, when not appointed, for from two to twenty-one years, governors for from one to four years. The practice in the United States is to make the terms of office short in order to give the people a chance frequently to express their approval or disapproval of the service rendered by their representatives. The frequency of elections is increased by the fact that in many cases local elections are held at different times from national elections. The purpose of this is primarily to prevent the confusion of local with national questions. At times of national elections attention is centered so completely upon the great national issues and the election of the chief magistrate of the land, that questions of purely local importance would be likely to be neglected. Besides, local

Frequency of elections

questions usually have nothing to do with the divisions between the great national political parties.

Not all of our representatives in the government are chosen by a direct vote of the people. Although the governors of all states are now so chosen, it was once the common practice for the state legislatures to elect them. United States senators have always been chosen by the legislatures of their respective states in accordance with the provision of the Constitution (Art. I, sec. 3, clause 1); but by an amendment to the Constitution enacted in 1913, the senators will hereafter be elected by direct vote of the people of their respective states.

Indirect election of some representatives of government

The Constitution of the United States provides that the President and the Vice-President shall be elected by a group of men from each state, called *electors* (Art. II, sec. 1, clause 2; Amendment XII). Each state may appoint its electors in any manner it chooses. Formerly they were appointed by the state legislatures; but to-day they are elected by popular vote in all the states. When the voters go to the polls on election day in November, they in reality cast their ballots for the electors, who have been nominated in the state convention, and not for the President and the Vice-President directly. The intention of the Constitution was that the electors should have the choice of the President entirely in their hands, the thought being that they would be better able than the people to select a capable man for the office. Since the party system, with its method of making presidential nominations, has arisen, the choice by the electors is a mere form, for they invariably vote for the candidates nominated by their parties.

By far the greater number of those who serve the peo-

ple in government offices are not elected at all, but are appointed by various executive officers, such as the President, the governors, the mayors of cities, and their subordinates. It would be impracticable for the people to elect all the thousands of officers and employees necessary for carrying on the work of the government. It is deemed better to elect only the chief officials, upon whose work the people can keep their eyes with comparative ease, and to hold them responsible, not only for their own work, but also for the work of all those whom they appoint to subordinate positions.

Appointment of officers

We have said that government is the servant, and not the master, of the people. What, then, about obedience to the government? Shall masters obey their servants? The feeling of *personal responsibility* for the conduct of community affairs, and *obedience*, are two of the most essential qualities of good citizenship. The government represents the community, and the individual is called on to obey the government as the agent of the community. When the government says to an individual that he must do this, or that he must not do that, it is the voice of the people speaking to him through the government. It was William Penn who said: "*Any government is free to the people under it where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws. Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.*"

The citizen must obey the government as the agent of the community

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Review together in class the preamble of the Constitution, noticing carefully the thought and the language.

2. Discuss direct and indirect self-government. Does direct self-government exist in any way in your community?

3. Discuss in class the meaning of democracy; of a republic. What other forms of government are there besides republics?

4. Discuss the meaning of a federal nation, and of the federal government.

5. Study the powers of Congress enumerated in Art. I, sec. 8, of the Constitution; the powers denied to the states in Art. I, sec. 10.

6. Discuss some of the powers that may be exercised by both state and national governments.

7. Discuss in class how the relations between state and local governments differ from the relations between state and national governments.

8. Give examples of how the local government carries out the provisions of state laws.

9. Give examples of some of the laws enacted by your local government.

10. What are the advantages of having our representatives live in our own locality? What disadvantages might arise from this custom?

11. What are the qualifications for the suffrage in your state? Do you think that the suffrage should be further extended, or restricted?

12. Report on the meaning of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, and the historical reason for its enactment.

13. What are the great political parties of to-day? What are some of the questions on which they are opposed to each other?

14. Are there, or have there been, in your community any local political parties growing out of local questions?

15. How are nominations made in your community?

16. Describe how an election is conducted in your community. (Special attention should be given to this while an election is in process.)

17. Find out what you can about the organization in your community and state of the party which you favor (committees, etc.).

18. Describe methods used in conducting a political campaign.

19. What is the method of electing the President as given in the Constitution, Art. II, sec. 2, and Amendment XII? Discuss in class the purpose of this method, and how the method actually works.

20. How many persons hold government positions in your community? What proportion of them are elected? Appointed?

REFERENCES

Hart, "Actual Government," chapters III–V.

Forman, "Advanced Civics," chapters II–VII, X, XI, XIV, XXX, XLV.

Bryce, "The American Commonwealth" (last edition), vol. I, chapters XXVII, XXVIII; vol. II, chapters LIII–LV; LIX, LX, LXVI, LXIX–LXXI (abridged edition, chapters XXVI, XXVII, LII–LIV).

See other standard text-books on civil government.

CHAPTER XX

HOW OUR METHODS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT ARE CHANGING

A GREAT many changes are taking place in our methods of self-government. Some of them are due to the fact that the older methods do not always work as originally intended. Others are due to changing conditions in our community life, which necessitate corresponding changes in the governing machinery. Still others are due to changes in our ideas of what government should do for us. Many of them are experimental in character and may be permanent or not according as they prove, in the course of time, to meet real needs. Such experiments are often tried in some one locality, or state, and become more generally adopted only when they prove successful. In general, most of these changes have been in the direction of giving to a larger number of the people a more direct part in government; that is, in the direction of a more complete democracy. At the same time their aim has been to insure better government by the people's representatives.

Methods of government change

We speak of our government as a government by the people. As a matter of fact, comparatively few of the people have ever taken any direct part in governing. The founders of our national government had no idea of giving all the people a direct voice in their government. They believed that safety

Restricted self-government

and good order depended on keeping the control of government in the hands of the most competent portion of the people. We have seen how the suffrage was originally restricted, and how it has been extended only by very gradual stages. It was this fear of the masses of the people that led the makers of the Constitution to adopt the clumsy, and now useless, method of electing the President by means of a chosen body of electors (see page 197).

Self-government demands active interest of all citizens

Many citizens have lacked sufficient interest to take part in government as much as they could. They do in this as they are inclined to do in other matters: having employed some one to look after the business of government for them, they feel relieved of all responsibility. If we are to be a really self-governing people, each citizen must take an active part.

The duty of taking office

There are only a few ways in which most citizens can take actual part in governing, but these are very important. Not many citizens can hold office. In a self-governing community it is the duty of a citizen, as well as a privilege, to take office when the community calls upon him. It may seem unnecessary to emphasize this, for usually there are more men who want office than there are offices to fill. The trouble is that the men who seek office do not always make the best officers. The men who will look after the community business best are most often men who have large interests of their own. The wide-awake community that is fully alive to its best interests will usually look among these busy, successful men and say to one of them, "You are capable, honest, and successful in managing your own affairs; we want you to help manage the community's affairs in office." Unfortunately such men too often shrink from the burdens and

cares of office, or from giving up the necessary time from their own business. Patriotism to one's community calls for just such sacrifices.

The same lack of patriotism is shown in a smaller way by a larger number of citizens who make all manner of excuses to avoid public service of various kinds. A good example of this is in jury service. Every person accused of crime or sued at law has the right to trial before a jury of his fellow-citizens (Constitution, Amendments VI and VII). Nearly every man may be called upon to serve on a jury, and he is shirking an important responsibility if, without good cause, he seeks to avoid it. There are some classes of men who are regularly and properly excused from jury service, such as physicians. Other men may, at times, have a valid excuse for not serving. The fact that it is so difficult to get jurymen from the best classes of citizens often results in juries of idlers and ignorant men. One of the strongest safeguards against injustice is thus weakened.

Patriotism in jury service

The paying of taxes is a most important way of taking part in the government. All citizens who have property are taxed to help pay the expense of government. It is surprising to find how many citizens endeavor to avoid paying their share toward sustaining the government in its work for them.

Patriotism in paying taxes

Another way of taking part in government is by voting for the nomination and election of officers. Thousands of voters fail to register or to cast their votes, throwing away the privilege of self-government, and allowing others to govern them. This is especially true at the primaries held to elect delegates to the nominating conventions. The choice of good men for the highest offices in the land, even the President, depends on

Patriotism in voting

the choice of good men at these primaries. Yet it is notorious that the primaries are poorly attended.

Why men do not attend the primaries

There are several reasons for this. One is that men feel too busy to leave their work, or they consider the election of delegates and the nomination of local officers too unimportant to take their time. Another reason voters give for not attending the primaries is that they are unacquainted with the candidates for nomination or election, and therefore cannot vote intelligently. In large communities where men do not know all their neighbors, it is difficult for the ordinary busy citizen to keep informed in regard to the merits of the various candidates. If a citizen is sufficiently interested, and does not wait until a day or two before the primary to inform himself, it is usually possible for him to enlighten himself sufficiently to cast his vote wisely. This excuse is often an admission of flagging interest in what is going on in the community during the time between elections. In many of our cities there are associations of citizens which publish, before election time, the names of the candidates of all parties with a sketch of their records as citizens and public servants.

The short ballot

At the primaries in New York City in 1912 a ballot fourteen feet long was used, containing 590 names. While this is an extreme case, it illustrates the difficulty which the conscientious voter faces when he tries to vote intelligently. In order to remove this difficulty a movement has been gaining headway in favor of a *short ballot*. As the name indicates, the plan is to reduce the number of names to be voted for to a very brief list. The chief means of accomplishing this is by having only the most important officials elected by the people, leaving the less important ones to be appointed

by those elected. The few elective officials would thus stand out prominently before the voters, and could be held responsible by the people for the appointment of capable subordinates. This plan not only makes it easier for the voter to vote intelligently, but also tends to secure more capable men in office.

Primaries controlled by a few

Another thing that has kept many voters away from the primaries of the old type is the feeling that their votes have no real influence, either because of unfair treatment at the primaries, or because the action of the primary and of the later nominating convention is determined beforehand by a few party leaders. Even these are not sufficient reasons. By staying away the timid voters abandon the fight, before it is begun, to the small but wide-awake group of politicians, who can therefore run things as they please, whether for good or for ill. Nomination of all candidates by direct vote of the people (see page 193) largely removes this excuse of the voter for not taking interest in the primaries, since it gives him a real voice in the choice of candidates, and increases the probability of nominating acceptable men.

This brings us to some of the dangers to self-government resulting from the way in which political parties are organized and managed.

Dangers of the party spirit

Political parties are unavoidable under a form of government like ours. They are the means of securing united action among the voters who think alike. A voter cannot accomplish much unless he belongs to a party and works and votes with it. Yet it must be remembered that a party is merely a means to accomplish a result, and not in itself a sacred thing. The purpose of a party should be to secure good government *for all the people*. The words of Washington in his Fare-

well Address should always be kept in mind by the patriotic American citizen. He said: "The spirit [of party], unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions . . . is itself a frightful despotism. . . . The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it."

The party machine, rings and bosses

To secure united action among the members of a party there must be organization under the direction of leaders. Each city ward has its leader, or leaders, who gain their position through their ability to influence the voters of the ward and to hold them together. These ward leaders are under the authority of a leader, or group of leaders, for the whole city. If one leader gains great influence over the party in the city, or in the state, he is called a *boss*. This organization extends throughout the nation, with branches in every community. The organization is often called the *machine*, the group of leaders controlling the machine is a political *ring*, and the boss is the commander-in-chief of all, his influence sometimes being limited to a city, or extending over a state or even the whole nation.

Party management for selfish ends

These names — machine, ring, and boss — were applied by the party's enemies. They do not necessarily mean anything bad. A machine (that is, an organization) is necessary, and there must be bosses, or leaders. The evil connected with these

things arises from the fact that the machine sometimes falls into the hands of ambitious, but unscrupulous, bosses and rings, who manage the party merely for the party's sake, or what is worse, for their own selfish ends.

Domination of wealthy corporations

It sometimes happens that bosses and rings are themselves under the domination of wealthy corporations which are seeking to secure legislation favorable to their own interests. In such cases the people are not their own governors, but are subject to the domination of the corporations.

How the party maintains control over voters

The leaders of a party use various methods to maintain their control over the voters, and over the subordinate leaders. Sometimes they do it by argument and persuasion, sometimes by threats, sometimes by promises of reward, and sometimes by actual bribery. A common method is to hold before the party worker the promise of reward by appointment to some office of government.

Secrecy of the ballot

It was formerly customary for each party to have its ticket (list of candidates) printed separately and usually on paper of different color from that of other party ballots. It was then easy for watchers to see how each man voted, and he could be held to account if he did not vote as expected. This method of controlling a man's vote was prevented by the introduction of the *Australian ballot*, which contains the names of the candidates of all parties on a single sheet. Each voter receives one of these from the election officers at the polls, and retires alone into a booth where he marks the names of the candidates for whom he wishes to vote, unseen by any one. The secrecy of his ballot gives him greater independence. A more recent innovation is the *voting machine*, a mechanical device by means of which

the voter registers his vote by operating a set of levers. The vote is registered and counted at one time by the machine, thus reducing the chance of fraud.

Where the people are divided into parties, it is of course the opinions and policies of the victorious party that will be carried out by the government. The defeated party or parties must yield to the victors. We often say that in a democratic form of government the majority rules. But where there are more than two political parties, as is usually the case in the United States, no one of the parties may include a majority of the people; the two or more defeated parties may together include many more people than the one victorious party. In such cases, which are very common, it is a minority that rules, and the majority that has to yield. But whether it is the representatives of the majority or of the minority that administer the government, they should not forget that while they are in power they should govern as nearly as possible in the interest of *all* the people. The defeated parties should always have a means of expressing their views in the councils of government, and their views should be given every possible consideration.

Majority or minority rule

One plan to secure this result is that of *proportional representation* in legislative bodies, such as state legislatures and city councils. By this plan several representatives are elected from each election district, and these are divided proportionally among the parties. Thus, if the parties are of equal strength in a given district, they will have an equal number of representatives; if one is twice as strong as another, it will have twice as many representatives as the other. The important thing is that each political group secures fair representation in the legislative body.

Proportional representation

Another plan by which to secure elections that are in closer accord with the will of the majority of voters is that of *preferential voting*. This plan, which has been adopted in some localities, is used where one of several candidates is to be elected to a single administrative office. It is somewhat complicated in detail, and in fact there are various methods by which the plan is carried out. In general, however, it is a plan by which each voter, in addition to indicating his first choice for the office, may mark the other candidates in the order of his preference; so that, if it proves that his first choice cannot be elected, his second choice may be taken into account; or, if that fails, his third choice, and so on.

Preferential voting

Besides these devices to give the people greater control over the choice of their representatives, there are still others by which these representatives may be more completely controlled after they are elected. One of these is known as the *recall*. This is a method by which the people may remove an elective official from office before his term expires. If a number of citizens believe that an official is not properly fulfilling the obligations of his office, a petition signed by a specified number of voters will necessitate an election to determine whether the official shall remain in office or be supplanted by another. Elective officials are thus made more directly responsible to the people for their acts. The recall has been used in a good many western communities for the removal of mayors, city councilmen, school directors, and others.

The recall

The people are also acquiring a more direct control over the making of the laws. They always had the right, except in Delaware, to vote on proposed amendments to the state constitutions; and by the town meeting plan (see page 218) they have themselves made laws to regulate

local affairs. But in recent years a number of states and a great many local communities have extended the direct action of the people in law-making by means of the *initiative* and the *referendum*.

Initiative and referendum

The initiative is the right of the voters to *initiate*, or start, legislation. By means of it a specified number of voters may themselves, by petition, propose a law; and if the legislature does not act upon it, it must be submitted to the people for their vote at the next election. On the other hand, if the legislature passes a law that is not pleasing to a considerable number of the people, a petition signed by a specified number of voters will require the law to be *referred* to the people for their approval or rejection. This is the referendum. The object of the initiative and the referendum is to force legislative bodies to act in accordance with the will of the people whom they represent; or, if they do not do so, to overrule them.

Arguments for and against direct legislation

These means of direct law-making are now in use in many localities, and are spreading. The chief arguments against them are that our state governments were intended to be representative and not direct, and that the people as a whole are not sufficiently informed to vote intelligently upon important laws. In reply to this it is said that it is not expected that the people will exercise the power of law-making except in cases where the legislative bodies fail to represent them faithfully, and that the legislatures will be more considerate of the will of the people in view of the power possessed by the latter to overrule them. It is said, further, that in a democratic form of government the people ought to be informed regarding important public questions with which their legislatures are dealing,

and that this is more likely to be the case if they know that they may be called upon to deal with these questions directly at any time. In order to provide every possible means for intelligent action by the people, it is the practice in some states where the initiative and referendum prevail, to circulate printed copies of proposed laws with a statement of all important arguments on both sides.

By far the greater number of the offices of government are filled by appointment and not by election. These appointive places constitute the civil service. There are about three hundred thousand such offices or positions under the national government, and probably as many more under the state and local governments. It is necessary that some of the more important of these offices should be filled by men who will sympathize with the policy of the government as indicated by the party in power, as in the positions of the cabinet officers who are advisors with the President and carry out his policy. There are, however, some offices in which party feeling should not be allowed to enter at all, as in the case of judges of our courts. Their business is to interpret the law and to render justice, which is always the same under any party. There are many thousands of other offices, or government positions, in which a man's party beliefs would make no difference in the performance of his duty, as in the case of postmen and mail clerks.

The civil service

It early became the practice of a victorious party to dismiss many members of the defeated party who were holding government positions, and to fill their places with its own members. This plan began in the national government under Andrew Jackson, and is known as the spoils system, because it was founded on the principle that "to the victors belong the spoils."

The spoils system

The spoils system brought with it a train of evils. The changes made in the civil service with each change of administration were injurious to the efficiency of the service. The worst evil was the habit it cultivated of looking upon the offices of government as booty, to be sought for, and even fought for, *as rewards for party service*. The man who works for a party merely for what he can get out of it in the shape of a salaried office is not a safe man for the people to put their confidence in as their representative in government.

Government offices are posts of service, not a reward

A great deal has been done in the last few years to destroy the spoils system of making appointments to office. In 1883 a civil service law was passed, and a Civil Service Commission created by Congress, for the purpose of improving conditions. By this act a merit system of making appointments was introduced. By the merit system, candidates for the civil service must pass a competitive examination to show fitness, and when appointed, they hold office during good behavior. At first this system was applied to only a few of the offices, but the number of offices in which it operates has steadily increased, until to-day more than half of the national offices are subject to it. The merit system of appointment has been adopted also in some states and cities.

The merit system in the civil service

One of the most promising of the changes that are taking place in our methods of self-government is to be seen in the increasing effort to fill all positions in the government service with persons who are trained in the kind of work they are to perform, and are capable of applying good business methods to the public business. Although dishonesty and

Need for business methods

corruption have been too frequent, a far more prevalent cause of bad government has been the simple lack of business methods and good management.

Various agencies are now at work studying the work and methods of the many departments and offices of government with a view to discovering how they may be conducted more economically and more efficiently. In some of our cities there are "bureaus of municipal research" for this purpose. Their attention has been directed chiefly to the study of the methods of city government, but they are now extending their activities to include county, state, and national governments. Largely through the influence of such private agencies, governments themselves are beginning to provide means for self-study. Thus, the department of education in New York City has created a bureau of investigation to work constantly for more effective methods of attending to the enormous business of the public schools of that city. The federal government has a commission to study and improve its methods of keeping accounts and handling its routine business.

Public service as a career

In some foreign countries the public service offers careers for which young men go into training, as they would go into training for the practice of law, or medicine, or business. In our country the feeling has seemed to prevail that not only has every citizen a *right* to hold office, but that he is competent to do so if he has sufficient influence to secure an election or an appointment. This idea is changing, and the time is apparently coming when, in this country also, the public service will offer an honorable career to be prepared for by systematic training, or by experience in similar kinds of work, or both. A number of

our universities now have departments to provide such training for young men, and other agencies with a similar purpose are growing up. Trained service in all departments of the public business cannot be expected, however, unless there is a public demand for it. The people themselves must recognize the need for it and insist upon having it.

This chapter has shown how the voters, who have been inclined to throw all responsibility for government upon their representatives, are taking upon themselves more and more direct responsibility. In like manner, citizens who cannot vote are inclined to throw all responsibility upon those who can. There are many ways in which the non-voting citizen may help to improve the methods of government, but chief among these is by keeping thoroughly informed regarding the community needs, how they may best be met, and how government actually does meet them, or fails to meet them. One reason for the need of information on the part of non-voters is that they have many opportunities to work with private organizations in the interest of public needs, such as the public health, public safety, education, and so on, and through such organizations to bring direct pressure to bear upon government. Another reason is that many of these non-voters may soon have the power to vote, and should be prepared to exercise the power effectively. A third reason, and perhaps the most important, is that an employee is stimulated to do his best work when he knows that his employer is interested in and thoroughly understands his work. Lack of interest on the part of the employer breeds lack of interest and incompetency on the part of the employee. The best reason the citizen has for knowing about his government is be

Responsibility of the non-voter

cause of the effect that his possession of that knowledge has upon those who administer his business in government.

Perhaps the chief defects of our system of self-government may be summarized as those which prevent the citizen from really having a voice in his own government, and those which prevent the choice of men most competent and most trustworthy to hold office and administer our affairs. These defects were not anticipated when our governments were first formed, but have developed with the increasing complexity of our communities until they have in some cases become acute and cause patriotic citizens some anxiety. We must not, however, get a wrong impression of the situation. Any plan, however excellent, is bound to miscarry at times when it is in the hands of imperfect human beings. It must not be supposed that our plan of government is wrong because it is sometimes wrongly used. Neither must it be supposed that it is wrongly used in the hands of all officers. Instead, we have great reason to be hopeful that the defects in our government will disappear. We can feel assured that the great majority of the people will do right when they see the right, and that there are to-day many honest and patriotic leaders who are earnestly striving to give the people the best that government can secure. Conditions are not getting worse, but better. If we see more corruption to-day than formerly, it is rather because we are opening our eyes, and are striving more earnestly to uproot the evils.

Conditions are getting better, not worse

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Discuss in class the question whether we are a democracy or an oligarchy.
2. Why is holding office a duty? Why is it a privilege?

3. How are jurymen selected? What will debar a man from serving on a jury? What would you consider a good excuse for an ordinary business man's not serving when called on?

4. Are the primaries in your community well attended? Try to find out the reasons for non-attendance from some of the men of your acquaintance.

5. Is there any organization in your community that tries to inform the people of the records and character of the candidates for nomination and election? Why might it be difficult to get reliable information in regard to these matters?

6. Have any laws been passed recently in your state for the reform of the primaries? What are the main features of these new laws?

7. Study those parts of Washington's Farewell Address that deal with political parties. Discuss carefully his meaning.

8. Investigate the methods of conducting primaries in the worst districts of large cities. Where are they held? How are they managed? Are similar methods used anywhere in your own city?

9. What per cent of the qualified voters in your city (or county) voted at the last election?

10. How many names to be voted for were on the county ticket of the party you favor at the last election? On the city ticket? On the state ticket?

11. What do men of your acquaintance think of the desirability of a short ballot in your community? Give their arguments.

12. If proportional representation exists in your community or state, discuss it in detail. Also, preferential voting, the recall, the initiative and the referendum.

13. Report on the application of the spoils system under Jackson's administration.

14. Report on the history of civil service reform.

15. Is the merit system of appointment used in your state?

16. Is the merit system of appointment used in your city government? How does it work?

17. Are voting machines used in your community? How do they work?

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CHAPTER XXI

THE GOVERNMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITIES: TOWNSHIP AND COUNTY

The English colonists who settled in America were familiar with forms of both national and local government in England. Their removal to America did not at first change their national government in any way, for the English government remained theirs. To meet their local needs, on the other hand, it was necessary to establish some form of local government in this country. In doing so, it was natural that they should imitate the forms with which they had been familiar in England.

In the early times of English history the smallest political division of the land was the *town*, which, in those days, consisted of a palisaded village with surrounding farm and pasture land; it was governed by a meeting of the men of the town, or *town meeting*. In the troublous course of early English history, these towns lost their right of direct self-government. Meanwhile another division of the land had appeared for purposes of *church government*. This was the *parish*, which was under the control of the parish priest. The parish usually coincided in area with the older town. The people of the parish met in a *vestry meeting*, to assess the church rates for church expenses and the care of the poor. As the powers of the town meeting declined, the vestry meeting gradually assumed them, until it became really the same thing as the older town meeting.

Origin of township and town meeting

When the Puritans left England because of restrictions on their religious liberty, they went in congregations; and when they settled in Massachusetts, they settled in little palisaded communities around the church. Under these conditions it was natural that the New England colonists should adopt the town, or parish, form of government with which they were familiar. Each little community, including the village and the surrounding farms, was called a town, or township, and was governed by a meeting of all the freemen (landholders) who belonged to the church. This meeting was called the *town meeting*. It originally met in the church, but afterward in the *town house*. It levied taxes for church purposes, to provide for the poor, and to pay the expenses of government. It provided for a school. It authorized the construction and repair of roads and bridges. The laws enacted by the town meeting were called *by-laws*, which means town laws.

Why the township system was adopted in New England

The town meeting

For the execution of the by-laws it was necessary for the town meeting to elect officers. First of all, there were from three to nine selectmen, the number varying with the size of the township. They had general supervision over all community business. They represented the town when the town meeting was not in session, and called the town meeting when necessary. The *town clerk* kept the records of the business of the town. The *town treasurer* received the taxes of the people, and paid the expenses of the community. There were *tax assessors*, who determined the amount of tax each citizen must pay, and *overseers of the poor*. The *constable* served warrants issued by the selectmen, arrested criminals, and sometimes collected the taxes. Each town had also a *school committee*.

Town officers

In England, at the time when America was colonized, the parish was only a part of the local government. There was also the *shire*, or *county*. The county included a number of parishes, or townships. Over the county there was a government which at one time was composed of representatives from the townships and cities, but which afterward consisted of a number of *justices of the peace* appointed by the king. These justices constituted the *court of quarter sessions*, meeting every quarter of the year to hold court. They were both a judicial body, trying cases at law, and an administrative body, managing the affairs of the county.

Origin of the county

The colonists of Virginia did not come like the Pilgrims for religious freedom, or like the later settlers of Massachusetts for political freedom. They came in search of wealth. Virginia is a rich farming country, in which the cultivation of tobacco in great plantations proved to be the most profitable industry. The colonists scattered themselves along the rivers, as planters, instead of living in compact communities like the New England colonists. When they organized themselves for local government, therefore, they adopted the English plan of county government, instead of the township plan. The whole colony was divided into counties, over each of which was placed a *county court*, consisting of eight justices of the peace. These justices were appointed by the governor of the colony, as in England they were appointed by the king, but they could themselves fill vacancies in their number. The county court was primarily a judicial body, trying cases at law, and meeting for the purpose about once a month at a designated point called the *county seat*. It had also administrative powers, as in England. It appointed *highway surveyors* and *constables*. It levied

The county system in Virginia

taxes for the maintenance of roads and bridges, and for other expenses of government. In each county there was a *sheriff*, appointed by the colonial governor. His chief duties were to execute the judgments of the court, and to serve as treasurer and tax collector. Another important officer was the *county lieutenant*, who had command of the militia.

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COURT HOUSE, DENVER, COLO.

Two forms of local government

Thus we find two forms of local government in the colonies. Both were brought from England, but each was adapted to the peculiar conditions in which the colonists found themselves. The township system prevailed throughout New England, where it is still the unit of the political organization. The town meeting may still be found in many small communities,

although it has necessarily been abandoned for the representative system in the larger communities. The county system prevailed, with some variations, throughout the Southern colonies, where the conditions of life were very much alike, and it is to-day the unit of the political organization throughout the Southern states.

New York and Pennsylvania, lying between New England and the Southern colonies, were influenced in their forms of local government by both sections. They developed both township and county. **The mixed type**

In New York the township predominated, and it was organized very much as in New England. The townships, however, were grouped into counties, and each township in a county elected each year a member of the county *board of supervisors*. In Pennsylvania, also, there were both township and county, but the latter predominated over the township. The county officers in Pennsylvania were all elected by the people of the county, instead of being appointed by the governor as in Virginia.

Throughout the West the mixed form of township-county government prevails, sometimes the township, sometimes the county, predominating. The influence of the township is especially strong in the Northwest, where there is a large New England population. In Michigan, northern Illinois, and other parts of the Northwest, the town meeting still manages the affairs of the township. The influence of the town meeting in developing a strong citizenship has been very great. All voters have the right to attend and to take part in the discussion and settlement of affairs. Experience shows that, as a rule, they take advantage of their right. Others besides voters often attend in order to listen to the discussions. The town meeting thus becomes a school of instruc- **The influence of the town meeting**

tion in public matters. Nowhere else do we find such general interest in public questions as in the parts of the

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country where the town meeting prevails. It encourages healthy, active citizenship.

The county system of representative government is more

practicable throughout the West than the township with government by town meeting. The country is almost wholly agricultural and the population is widely scattered. On the other hand, the existence of the congressional townships surveyed by the national government to aid in the settlement of the land (see page 49), suggested that they be adopted as civil townships for purposes of local government. Everywhere throughout the West, therefore, we find both township and county governments with varying relations between them. Even in the South the counties are tending to break up into smaller divisions for some purposes of local government, especially in connection with school administration. The principle of local self-government is strong among the people, and they prefer the smaller township to the county as the unit of government. Except in the Northwest, however, the government of the township is now representative. It is in the hands of township trustees, who correspond to the earlier selectmen; the clerk, who keeps the records; the tax assessors and collectors; the justice of the peace, who presides over the township court for the trial of minor cases; the school trustees; the overseers of the poor; and numerous minor officers. At the present time the most important matters under the control of the township government are the schools, the roads, and the poor.

The township in the West

The main governing body of the county is the board of county commissioners, or supervisors. They administer the affairs of the county: they fix the rate of taxation; appropriate money for the building and repairing of public buildings, such as the courthouse and jail, and for the construction of roads and bridges; and appoint subordinate officials. Every county has its court, which is of higher grade than the township justice court, and

The Western county

is held at the county seat. The commands of the court are carried out by the sheriff, who also maintains order in the county and usually has charge of the county jail and its inmates. There are various other officers, among whom are the county treasurer, the tax assessors and collectors, the superintendent of schools, the clerk, the coroner, and the surveyor.

In those states where the township has the chief importance in local government, the county exists for little more than judicial purposes. In other states the county government has many of the powers which the township government exercises elsewhere. There seems to be a growing tendency to centralize the administration of many local affairs in the county government, or at least to give the county government supervision over the affairs of the townships. This is seen in the administration of the schools and of roads. This supervision secures greater uniformity and efficiency than would be the case if each township had exclusive control over these matters.

Importance of local government

The government of rural communities seems a comparatively simple matter. The pressing problems of city and national government have thrown it into the background. But it has an importance that demands the interest and attention of every citizen. In the first place, the township and county have always been the units of local self-government. No matter how isolated a farmer and his family may be, these governments provide him with a direct means of coöperating with others for the satisfaction of his immediate wants and the protection of his rights. Besides, upon the excellence of these local means of self-government depends in large measure the success or failure of the general governments of state and nation.

In the second place, these forms of local government have acquired new importance because of the very fact of the growth of cities and the increasing complexity of community life. They were originally adapted to the peculiar needs of rural communities and small towns. To-day, however, many counties contain large city populations. Some, in fact, are occupied wholly by large cities, as in the case of New York City and Chicago. We have seen how the old form of township government by town-meeting has had to give way before increasing population. But in spite of the great changes in conditions through the transformation of rural into urban, or partly urban, communities, the form of county government has remained almost unchanged.

Adaptation to local needs

Where cities have grown up within counties their governments overlap and duplicate, in many ways, the county governments. This often results in conflict of authority, wastefulness, and inefficiency. Denver has solved the difficulty by consolidating city and county by providing for a single board of five commissioners at the head of both city and county governments, and making city and county officers subordinate to this board. In Alameda County, California, where a part of the county is distinctly rural and another part made up of a group of cities, it is proposed to have a county board of which the mayors of the cities will be members, and to consolidate some of the county and city offices.

Cities and counties overlap

Another feature of county government which is considered weak, especially where the population is large, is the large number of elective officers. In California, for example, there were formerly elected in each county every four years five commissioners, a sheriff, a county superintendent of schools, a coroner, a

Short ballot in counties

public administrator, a county clerk, a district attorney, an auditor, a treasurer, a tax collector, an assessor, a recorder and a surveyor, besides a number of constables and justices of the peace. Each of these officers, being elected by the people, would feel independent of all the others, so that instead of perfect coöperation, there might be lack of harmony and unity in the administration of the county business. Besides this, since many of the offices thus filled by election are comparatively obscure, the people do not take great interest in them. Some of the office holders are often wholly unknown to many of the voters. The result is likely to be an inferior type of officials. The remedy proposed for this, and already in practice in some states, is the short ballot (see page 203). The present law in Los Angeles County, California, for example, provides for the election of not more than three officers in any one year, while most of the offices are filled by appointment.

Home rule for counties

The county is an administrative division of the state. That is, an important part of the work of its government is to administer the laws of the state within its boundaries. For this reason there must be some uniformity among all the counties and some control over them by the state government. On the other hand, there are many matters of purely local concern that come under the jurisdiction of the county government. Where there are such differences among the counties as exist in most of the states, many believe that better results would be obtained in matters of purely local interest if a larger degree of home rule were allowed. Again California has taken the lead in this matter by enacting a state law which allows to each county the right to adopt its own charter, or form of local government, a right which the cities of that state have enjoyed for some time past.

In these and other ways county government is being modified, especially in the West, to meet the changing conditions of community life.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Is the township or the county the more important division for local rural government in your state? Can you explain why?

2. Are town meetings ever held in your state? If so, have you ever attended one? Describe the meeting.

3. What are your township officers? Make a list of them, and state their duties.

4. How are the various township officers chosen?

5. Is there any law-making, or legislative, body in your township? If so, with what kinds of things do its laws deal?

6. How are the laws enforced in your township?

7. Are there any courts in your township? If so, what are they? What kinds of cases do they try?

8. Make a list of your county officers. State their duties.

9. How are the county officers chosen?

10. What legislative body is there in your county?

11. What executive officers are there?

12. Do the county legislative officers have any executive powers?

13. Are there any county courts in your county? What kinds of cases do they try?

14. What buildings belong to your county and township? What are their uses?

15. Make a map of your county, showing townships. Notice the shape of the townships and the county. Do their boundaries follow the lines of the government survey? Explain any irregularities in the shape of the townships. Locate the county seat.

16. Find out how many of your township and county officers your father now knows by name. Compare notes in class on this point. Does the result show great interest in township and county government or not?

17. Can you find cases in your community in which the duties of various local officers duplicate each other?

18. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of applying the short ballot to your own county. Also the desirability of a larger degree of home rule for your county.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY

THE growth of cities in the United States has been very rapid. In 1790, when the first census was taken, there were in the United States only six cities with a population of 8000 or more. The largest, Philadelphia, had but 28,500 people, and all together the six .cities contained 132,000 population. In 1910 there were 778 cities of 8000 population or more, comprising a total of 35,726,720 people. New York at the last census had four and three-quarters million, while Chicago, which was founded only in 1830, had considerably more than two million population. In 1790 but 3.3 per cent of the total population of the country lived in cities; to-day, cities contain about 40 per cent of the total population.

Rapid growth of cities

Cities have brought with them serious problems of community life and of government. Where so many people are crowded together, there are many conflicting interests. Each person is more dependent on others for his well-being than is the case in rural communities. The mixed character of the population found in most large cities also presents problems difficult of solution (see chapter VII). Other problems are found in the distribution of the population, involving the question of transportation and that of the crowded tenement districts. Still other difficulties arise from the rapid growth of cities to a size originally unexpected. In the early days of Chicago, for example, men had no idea that it would ever

Problems of city government

be a great city. Care is not taken, under such circumstances, to plan these young cities for the accommodation of future crowds. As it is, American cities are constantly being made over, often resulting in an unsymmetrical appearance and perhaps in great inconvenience. These and other problems did not attract much attention until after the Civil War; since then city government has become one of the greatest problems before the American people.

Cities receive their right of self-government from the state

Cities, like counties and townships, receive their right of self-government from the state. Their form of government and the powers they may exercise are prescribed in a *charter* granted by the legislature, just as some of the colonies received charters from the king. The city does not always have even the right of ratifying the charter. Since the charters are often long and detailed, and since the legislature usually holds the right to change them at will, the amount of self-government left to the city may be very limited. This control over the details of the business of cities by state legislatures is considered one of the chief obstacles to good city government. Legislators from all parts of the state, many of them from rural districts, cannot know the peculiar needs of the city so well as the people of the city themselves. Besides, it is much easier for scheming politicians and corrupt corporations to exercise an influence over a few legislators than over the citizens of the city.

Control by legislature

Tendency toward freer self-government

This interference by state legislatures has been checked somewhat by the provision in some states for a general form of charter for all cities of about the same size. The legislature cannot, then, modify the charter of one city without similarly modifying the charters of all cities of the same class, and this is likely to

arouse opposition. On the other hand, this plan may make it difficult for a city to have its charter changed when it wants to do so, because of the possible opposition to such changes on the part of other cities in the same class

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CITY HALL, BOSTON, MASS.

In a number of states, as in California, cities are allowed by the state to draft their own form of government, which, after having been ratified by the voters of the city, is submitted to the legislature for approval. This principle of home rule for cities is spreading at the present time.

The form of government for cities in the United States has undergone a good many changes, and at the present time varies to a considerable extent in different cities. As in the case of state and national governments, city governments exercise legislative, executive and judicial powers, but the separation of these powers (see page 185) has not always been clearly marked.

The city council

In the form of city government that has been most common in recent years the legislative power is vested in a city council. Its members are elected by the people, the city being divided into *wards*, from each of which one or more representatives are chosen. In some cases the council consists of two chambers, an upper chamber, or *board of aldermen*, and a lower chamber, or *common council*. The upper chamber is always the smaller. The term of office of councilmen is short, usually one or two years. Their salaries generally are small. For the transaction of business the council is organized into committees, such as the committee on streets, on public buildings, and on finance. The mayor ordinarily presides over the meetings of the council, and sometimes has the power to *veto* its acts.

There was a time when practically all of the powers of government were held by the council. It had administrative, as well as law-making, powers. The business of the fire department, the police, the streets, was managed by its committees, or by officers appointed by the council. There was a mayor, elected by the people, but he had very little power. He was little more than a presiding officer for the council. He was often a magistrate with judicial powers.

This form of government proved unsatisfactory. There were several objections to it. One was the difficulty of fixing responsibility. It also resulted in a lack of unity

in government, since the various committees were not always harmonious. Furthermore, the elective council members were frequently incompetent to direct the business of the various city departments. These defects resulted in an important change by which the powers of the council were greatly reduced, while those of the mayor were correspondingly increased. The council had never had wide legislative powers, since they extended only to matters of local concern not regulated by state law. Its most important legislative power is that of controlling taxation and expenditures for city purposes. In some cities even this power was restricted by a special *board of estimate* with large powers over the city's finances, as in the City of New York. Another important power of the council is that of granting franchises (see page 54). The council was stripped entirely of its administrative powers. The mayor became the real executive head of the city. He is elected by popular vote in all cities, for a term varying from one to five years. His salary also varies from a very small sum in many cities to $15,000 in New York City.

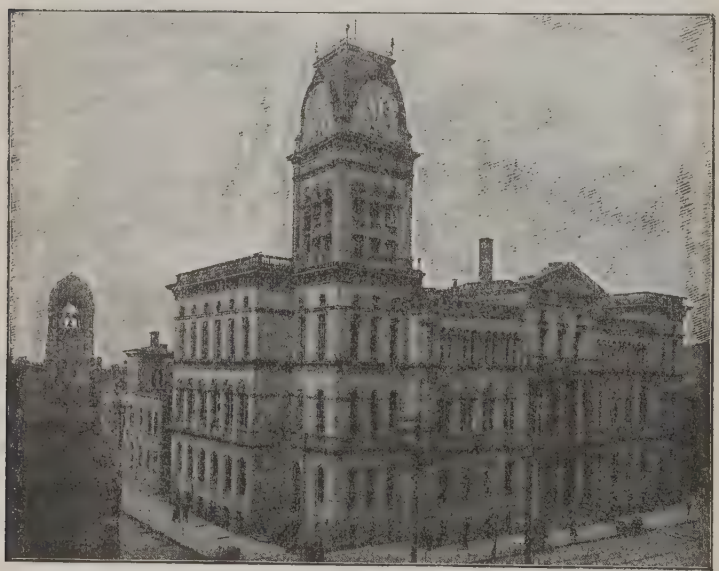
Defects in government by council

Executive. The mayor

The work of administering the business of a large city is so great and so complex that it has to be subdivided. Hence there are various administrative departments under the supervision of *chiefs* or *boards*. Perhaps the most important of these is the department that manages the money affairs of the city. There is always a *treasurer*, who has the care of the city's funds and who makes payments when authorized by the proper authorities. In some cities there is also a *controller*, who is the real director of the finance department. We have heard before of the *health department*, usually managed by a board (see page 60); the *fire department* (page

Administrative departments

72) and the *police department* (page 76), both of which are sometimes united under the supervision of a *board of safety;* the *street department* (page 115) and the *building department*, which are also sometimes combined under a *board of public works.* The *street-cleaning department* (page 63) is often separated from the street department,



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CITY HALL, LOUISVILLE, KY.

which looks after the construction and repairing of the streets. The *department of education* is under the management of a *board of school commissioners* (page 144). These are only a few of the administrative branches found in our various cities, and each one of these is subdivided into several divisions or bureaus. Under them is a large number of subordinate officers and employees.

In America there has always been a fear of giving any one man too much power. It was this that led, at one time, to placing the government in the hands of the council. It has also led to the election by popular vote, and for short terms, of many of the administrative officers, in the belief that by so doing the people could keep their hands directly on the administration of the city's business. In the complexity of the affairs of a city, and with the numerous officers necessary to manage them, it is impossible for the people to hold every officer responsible to themselves, or even to know them. When anything goes wrong, it has been found almost impossible to fix the responsibility on any one. In handling the vast sums of money necessary in city government, and in the granting of franchises and the letting of contracts, there is abundant opportunity for things to go wrong. Therefore the tendency has been, in our best governed cities, to give the mayor full power to appoint his subordinates, as well as to remove them, at least in the case of the more responsible positions, and then to hold *him* responsible for the acts of his appointees.

Concentration of powers in the mayor

City government has suffered greatly from the spoils system (page 210). When a new mayor is elected, he usually appoints new boards and heads of departments, and these, in turn, too frequently remove subordinates in their departments to make way for personal or political friends. One of the chief causes for this is the part that the national political parties take in city elections. National political questions have no place in city elections. Cities have local self-government in order to manage their *local business*, such as paving streets, granting franchises, protecting property and health. These are purely business

Political parties and city government

matters that demand business ability and honesty on the part of those who manage them, and have no relation to the great national issues that divide the parties against each other. The national parties retain their hold on city affairs partly to prevent party spirit and interest from flagging in the period between national elections, and partly to have at their disposal the vast number of city offices as rewards for faithful party workers in the community. The result of this is that not only the responsible positions at the head of administrative departments, but minor positions, such as those of policemen and of clerks in the city offices, are too often filled with men who have some claim on the party in power, but very little on the confidence of the people.

Civil service reform

One means of removing cities from partisan control is by holding city elections at a different time from state and national elections, in the hope of avoiding confusion between local and national questions. More important than this is the introduction of the merit system in the appointment of city officials and employees (see page 211). Good city government cannot be expected until those who carry it on hold their positions solely on the ground of efficiency and faithfulness to the trust reposed in them.

Commission form of government

Two forms of government very different from that already described have recently been introduced in many cities. One of these is the *commission form.* By this plan the government is placed wholly in the hands of a commission of from three to nine men (most often five) who are elected by the people at large. One member of the commission is designated as mayor, but he has no powers different from those of the other members. He presides over the meetings of the

commission, and on public occasions acts as the official head of the city. The commission as a whole acts as a legislative body and decides on the policy to be followed by the government. Each member of the commission is placed at the head of one of the main departments of the city government. Thus there is a commissioner of public works, a commissioner of finance, a commissioner of public safety, and so on.

This form of city government was first adopted in Galveston, Texas, after the city had been devastated by storm and flood, and when the crisis demanded a simple, but energetic and efficient, business management. Since then it has spread widely, having been adopted with slight variations by hundreds of cities in many states.

Advantages of commission form

Some of the advantages of the commission plan are said to be: (1) that it prevents the concentration of too much power in the hands of one man, the mayor; (2) that it supplants the large council with the small commission, which makes it easier for the people to hold their legislative body responsible for its acts; (3) that it fixes the responsibility for the management of each department of government upon one man; (4) that it facilitates the transaction of the city's business. Under the old plan of government there are often many delays in getting business through the council, with its numerous committees, and through the various administrative offices. Under the commission form each commissioner is on duty all the time. The several commissioners may hold a joint meeting at any time as the occasion demands; the old council meets but once a week, at night.

Under the commission form of government the principle of the short ballot is applied (see page 203). It is also usually accompanied by the initiative, the referendum, and the

recall, which are additional means for holding the members of the commission and their subordinates responsible directly to the people (see page 208).

Objections to commission form

The chief objections to the commission plan are two. It is said by many to be unwise to combine legislative and administrative powers in one body. It is further urged that the commission plan tends to break up the city government into three, five, or more parts, without sufficient provision for unity. These objections are said to be overcome, in large measure, by the most recent form of city government now in operation in a few cities. This is the *city-manager plan.*

City-manager plan of government

The city-manager plan of government is like the commission plan in that there is a commission, or small council, of three or five men (rarely more). But it differs from the commission plan in that the commission appoints a "city manager" to whom is given full power to administer, or manage, the city's business in all its departments, and to appoint his own subordinates. The commission becomes wholly a legislative body, determines what the policy of the government shall be, appoints the manager, and holds him responsible for the conduct of the city's affairs. It may also remove the manager from office at any time. The people, on the other hand, hold the commission responsible for the manager's acts, and usually have the power of recall over its members. The relation between the commission and the manager is like that between a board of directors in a business organization and the manager or superintendent whom they choose; or like that between a board of education and the superintendent of schools. In fact, the commission becomes a board of directors for the city, and the city manager is their expert superintendent.

Market Square Newark, N. J.

The position of city manager requires large ability and thorough training. Therefore, in most cases, the council is given authority to seek its manager wherever he may be found throughout the country, and the salary is large enough to attract competent men. When the city of Sumter, S. C., which was the first city to adopt the city-manager plan, sought a manager, it advertised widely throughout the country. One hundred and fifty replies to the advertisement were received, mostly from trained civil engineers, and from this list the commission made its choice.

Expert management

The city-manager plan of government has spread from Sumter, S. C., to a number of other cities, especially in Ohio. It may still be said to be an experiment, but it seems to be growing in favor. The chief advantages claimed for it are that it applies to city government the principles of good business management; that it simplifies and unifies the transaction of the city's business; that it places city government in the hands of experts; that it fixes responsibility in one place; that it avoids the confusion between legislative and executive powers that is said to be a fault of the commission plan; and that it gives the people full control over their city government.

Advantages of city-manager plan

For the exercise of the judicial powers of government cities have courts. There are police courts before which are brought persons arrested by the police for minor offenses; there are higher criminal courts for the trial of more serious cases; and there are civil courts for the settlement of disputes over property rights. In many cities there are, in addition, special courts of various kinds, such as juvenile courts for the trial of juvenile offenders (see page 178). In some of the large cities there

City courts

are night courts, to provide immediate trial for the large number of persons arrested at night. The judges of the various courts are sometimes appointed by the mayor, sometimes elected by the people.

Importance of courts

A great deal depends on the effectiveness with which the courts are conducted. It is of course important to all concerned that impartial justice be administered in every case. Further, a wise judge may do much to turn offenders away from paths of crime, while an unwise or unscrupulous judge may harden or embitter those brought before him. The police courts also have much to do with the efficiency of the police department. The police can hardly be expected to be diligent in bringing offenders to trial if there is any doubt about receiving the full support of the courts. It is highly important that the citizen should look carefully after the character and fitness of the judges, and the methods by which justice is administered.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What causes have led to the rapid growth of American cities?

2. Investigate your city charter with respect to the following points: By whom was it drafted? Did the people of the city have any voice in determining what the charter should contain? Has it ever been changed, and if so, how? Is it a special charter for your city alone, or is it a general charter, like that of other cities of the same size?

3. Investigate your city council with respect to the following points: Has it one or two chambers? How are its members chosen? How many members from each ward? What is their term of office? What are the qualifications for councilmen? What is their salary? Where and how often do they meet? Who presides at its meetings? What are the important committees of the council?

4. How is the mayor of your city chosen? What is his salary? His term of office? Is the mayor of your city often reëlected for a second or third term?

5. Does the mayor in your city have large appointing powers? Does he have full power of removal from office? Is he held responsible for

the acts of the various administrative departments? Does he have the veto power over the acts of the council?

6. Make a list of the administrative departments of your city government. Report on the organization of each department. How are the heads of the various departments chosen? What are the duties of each department?

7. Do any of these administrative departments have legislative powers? Does the council have any executive powers?

8. Ascertain about how many persons are employed by the city government. In what departments do you find the largest force of employees?

9. Does the merit system of appointment prevail in your city? If so, to what extent?

10. Describe the commission form of city government; the city-manager plan; compare the two.

11. Discuss in class the reasons for the many changes in the forms of city government.

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See Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature for recent magazine articles.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE

EACH state in the Union has a written constitution. This constitution is the fundamental law of the state, and gives to the government its form and powers. It is a law made by the people themselves, is superior to laws made by the legislature, and cannot be changed in any way except by the people themselves. The constitutions of the original thirteen states were adopted when these states declared their independence from England, and took the place of the colonial charters which had been granted by the king. They were a substitution of self-government for government by the king. The other states adopted their constitutions when they entered the Union. Each state constitution was framed by a convention of delegates chosen by the people for this purpose, and was ratified, in most cases, by a vote of the people.

State constitutions

The constitution provides for its own amendment and revision if defects appear, or if conditions change to such an extent that its provisions are not adequate. Amendment of the constitution consists merely in changing some of its provisions; revision is a recasting of the whole constitution. Both processes require the consent of the voters of the state. Amendments are usually enacted by the legislature and submitted to the vote of the people at the polls. Revision usually takes

Amendment and revision

place by means of a convention of delegates elected by the people for the purpose. The revised constitution is nearly always submitted to the vote of the people. In some states the constitution requires the legislature to give the people an opportunity to revise the constitution at stated intervals, say every ten or twenty years.

The constitution thus represents the supreme will of the people, and is intended to prevent any encroachment on their rights and liberties either by themselves or by the government which the constitution creates. One of the most important parts of every state constitution, therefore, is the *bill of rights*, which is a detailed statement of the rights which must not be infringed on by the government. In almost every state, the bill of rights occupies a prominent place in the first part of the constitution.

The constitution represents the supreme will of the people

The main part of each constitution contains the plan of government. Although the governments of the states differ in details to meet the peculiar conditions of each, the general plan is the same in all. The federal Constitution guarantees to each state a republican form of government (Art. IV, sec. 4); that is, a form of self-government without the domination of a king. In each state the government is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial branches, with a separation of powers much more complete than is usual in cities (page 232).

General plan of government

In all the states, at the present time, the legislature consists of two chambers, or houses. The upper chamber, or *senate*, is usually from one third to one half the size of the lower chamber, or *house of representatives*. In the two-chambered legislature we have another illustration of the system of checks and balances;

The legislature

for every *bill*, or proposed measure, must pass each house separately before it can become a law. The people have always been afraid of the law-making power, and have hedged it around with restrictions and provisions to make hasty law-making difficult. For this reason, not only must the law pass each house separately, but in every state but one the governor is given a check on the legislature in his *veto* power. A bill to become a law must be signed by the governor. If he disapproves of the bill, he may prevent its passage by vetoing it, or recording his vote against it. However, the legislature may overcome the governor's veto by again passing the bill, usually by a two-thirds majority.

Checks on the law-making power

The members of the legislature are chosen by popular vote. In many of the states the legislature meets but once in two years, and its sessions are limited to a period of from forty to ninety days, both of which provisions are intended to prevent too much law-making. The lieutenant-governor usually presides over the senate, while the house of representatives elects a *speaker* to preside. The speaker and the president of the senate have the power of appointing the committees in the two houses, by which most of the business of law-making is done.

The law-making power of the legislature extends to any subject whatever, except as it is limited by the Constitution (Art. I, sec. 10), the laws, and the treaties of the United States, or by the constitution of the state. The earlier state constitutions were short, and contained few restrictions on the power of the legislature. But partly through the love of the people for direct self-government, and partly because of a growing fear of the power of legislatures, the tendency has been to insert more details in the constitutions of the newer states, and

Restrictions on the legislature by the people

to leave less to the discretion of the legislatures. The initiative and the referendum, which have been introduced in a number of the states (see page 209), serve as a further means by which the people have undertaken to curb the power of the legislature.

INDIANA STATE HOUSE.

A great many influences are brought to bear on state legislatures, which determine more or less completely the character of the laws passed. Legislation is often dictated by a political boss (see page 205), who may, in turn, be the representative of private interests. Citizens and corporations who have special interests which they wish the legislature to favor go, or send their representatives, to the legislative halls and committee rooms, and try to bring influences to bear on the legislators to secure the passage of the desired laws. This is known as *lobbying*.

Influence on legislation

Legislatures watch for every expression of public opinion on questions that come before them. The opinion of the people expressed through the newspapers, by public meetings, or by personal letters, has a great influence. This is one of the strongest safeguards of self-government. Law-makers seldom dare to meet the disapproval of the people when it is clearly and strongly expressed. From this it is evident that the responsibility of the citizen for his own self-government does not end when he elects his representative to the legislature. He must have opinions of his own on public questions, and must make them known.

Public opinion

As in city governments, the executive branch of state government is divided and subdivided into numerous departments, bureaus, and commissions. The chief executive officer is the *governor*, who is elected by the people, and whose term of office varies from one to four years. His chief duty, in theory, is to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed. In fact, however, the governor does not have the power to enforce the laws that we should expect him to have. As we have seen (page 185), counties and townships and even cities are administrative divisions of the state government, and the enforcement of state laws is largely in the hands of local officers. Over these local officers the governor usually has no authority. He cannot remove them in case they fail to enforce the laws. Only in extreme cases, such as riot, or other serious disturbance, which the local authorities prove incapable of handling, may the governor intervene with the state militia, of which he is the commander-in-chief.

The executive

Still further, the governor is only one of the executive officers of the state. Among the most important of the other executive officers are the *treasurer;* the *auditor* (or

comptroller), who manages the financial affairs of the state, and instructs the treasurer what moneys to pay out; the *secretary of state*, who keeps the records of the state; the *attorney-general*, who is the legal adviser of the executive heads, and represents the state in court; and the *superintendent of schools*. These officers do not constitute a governor's *cabinet*, as the similar officers in the national government do for the President (see page 259). They are not appointed by him, as a rule, nor are they removable by him. They may belong to different parties. They are elected, in most cases, directly by the people, and the governor has no authority over them. This was intended to give the people more direct control over the executive business of the state, and to prevent the governor from assuming too much power. In reality it weakens the executive, for it divides responsibility.

The heads of departments

Executive responsibility

On the other hand, the governor has considerable influence over legislation. Not only has he the veto power, already mentioned, but he may recommend, in formal messages to the legislature, legislation that he thinks should be enacted. He frequently goes about the state making speeches for or against proposed legislation, thus creating a public opinion which the legislature fears to disregard. The governor may also call special sessions of the legislature to force consideration of measures that have not been attended to in the regular sessions.

The powers of the governor

Among the powers of the governor is that of pardoning criminals; but even this power is in some states transferred to a *board of pardons*. He also has the power of appointment to many state positions, as in the case of heads of administrative bureaus and state institutions, such as forestry

bureaus, and institutions for the blind, deaf, and insane; and members of special commissions and boards, such as railway commissions and boards of health and charities. The approval of the legislature is usually required in the governor's appointments.

Questions are constantly arising as to the meaning of the law, or how it applies to a particular case. To decide such questions the state constitution provides a system of courts, constituting the judicial branch of government. They are the stronghold of the citizen against injustice.

The courts

The most numerous courts are the justices' courts, at least one of which is to be found in every community, easily accessible to the people. They are the lowest grade of state courts, before which are tried petty offenses against law and order and trifling disputes over property. The judges who preside over these courts are called *justices of the peace*. In cities there are other courts of the same class, known as *police courts*, which are made necessary by the great number of misdemeanors committed in city life.

Justices' courts

Next above the justices' courts are the district, or circuit, courts. They are called district courts because the state is divided into *judicial districts* (see page 55), each of which has a single court of this grade. They are called *circuit* courts because the presiding judge holds the court first in one county of the district, and then in another, until the circuit of the counties is completed.

District courts

It is before the circuit or district courts that the majority of cases of importance are brought for trial. Many cases first tried before a justice's court are *appealed* to the district court for a second trial. This is because, in the first

place, district judges are more able and better trained men than the justices of the peace; and because, in the second place, a *jury trial* may always be had in the district court. The Constitution of the United State provides that every man shall have the right to trial by jury in all criminal cases, and in civil cases involving a sum of more than $20 (Amendments VI and VII).

In large cities there are often *criminal courts*, and other special courts, to meet the needs of city life, and to relieve the district courts of a portion of the work that would otherwise come before them. In some states there is also a *county court* for each county, besides *probate*, *chancery*, and other courts, for the trial of special classes of cases.

City and county courts

Each state has one supreme court, which usually holds its sessions at the state capital, although for convenience it sometimes holds sessions in other cities. It consists of several judges, who are presided over by a *chief justice*. The work of this court is almost altogether *appellate;* that is, the cases tried before it are usually appealed to it from the lower courts. There are, however, certain classes of cases that come before the supreme court for first trial, such as cases in which the official action of state officers is in question.

Supreme court

In the first constitutions of the original thirteen states it was provided that the judges should be appointed by the governor or chosen by the legislature. As the movement toward a more democratic government grew, the states began to provide for the election of their judges by the people. In most of the states, at the present time, the judges are so chosen, though in some they are appointed by the governor and in others by the legislature. The election of the judges by

The appointment of judges

the people, at the same time with other state officers, tends to make their selection a matter of party politics. This is especially true when they are elected for short terms, as is usually the case. The courts should be entirely removed from partisan disputes, and this is best accomplished by a life tenure of office, as is the case in the federal courts.

Recall of decisions

It has been proposed to give the people a certain control over the judges, as over executive officers, by applying the principle of the recall; only in this case it is not a recall of the judge himself, but of his *decision*, that is proposed. For example, if a judge should declare a law unconstitutional, a number of voters might, by petition, require the question to be voted on at an election. If a majority of the voters agreed with the judge, his decision would stand; otherwise it would not. It is said by the friends of this idea that if the people make the constitution, they should have the final right of declaring what they intended it to mean. The recall of judicial decisions is so far permitted in but one state, Colorado.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Report on the first constitutional convention of your state.
2. Has your state constitution ever been revised? How many times? How was it done?
3. How many amendments have been made to your state constitution? What is the method of amendment provided in your constitution?
4. Describe the organization of the legislature. How often does it meet? How long are its sessions?
5. What restrictions are placed on the legislature by Art. I, sec. 10, of the federal Constitution?
6. Is the legislature in your state positively forbidden to do certain things by the state constitution? What are they?
7. What different courts exist in your state?
8. How are jurymen selected?
9. If you live in a large city, what special city courts exist there?

10. How are the judges chosen in your state? What is their term of office?

11. Debate the question, "The judges of the state courts should be appointed by the governor for life."

12. What are the executive departments in your state? How are their heads chosen?

13. Does the governor of your state have the pardoning power, or is there a board of pardons? Is the pardoning power often exercised?

14. Does the governor of your state often exercise the veto power? How may a bill be passed over his veto?

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Copies of the state constitution should be available.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION

THE American colonists sought their independence because of the despotism of king and parliament, and they had instilled in them a fear and hatred of a powerful centralized government. When they declared their independence, therefore, it was as thirteen states, independent of each other as well as of England. They did create a central government under the Articles of Confederation; but this government was only for purposes of common defense. It had no power to tax the people; it had no executive authority to compel them to do its bidding. The experience of the people under the Confederation taught them that there were common interests among the states that were not being protected, and conflicting interests that were rapidly leading to disunion and anarchy (page 100). They discovered the truth that *no* government is even worse than a despotic government.

The weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation

A convention of leading men was therefore called in 1787 for the purpose of amending the weak points of the Articles of Confederation. These Articles provided that no amendment could be made without the unanimous consent of the states; and this could not be obtained from the jealous and quarreling states. In this extremity the wise leaders of the convention determined to frame an entirely new constitution,

The constitutional convention

totally changing the form of government, and to submit it to the people for their acceptance or rejection. This they did; and after the greatest difficulty the new Constitution was ratified by the people of a sufficient number of states to make it binding on them. In due time it was ratified by all of the original thirteen states.

The Constitution prescribes, in Article V, the methods by which it may be amended. These methods are sufficiently difficult to prevent frequent or hasty changes in the fundamental law, but not so difficult as to prohibit changes when it is clearly the will of the people that they be made. Amendments may be *proposed* either by Congress, when two thirds of both houses deem it necessary; or by a national convention called for the purpose by Congress on the request of the legislatures of two thirds of the states. When amendments have been proposed by either of these methods they must be *ratified* by at least three fourths of the states acting through their legislatures or through state conventions, as Congress may indicate. Seventeen amendments to the Constitution have been made since its adoption.

Method of amendment

The first great problem that the constitutional convention had to solve was the creation of a government strong enough to protect the common interests of all the states, while not so powerful as to destroy their independence. This problem was solved by the carefully adjusted distribution of powers referred to on page 183. First, there were certain *powers granted exclusively to the federal government*, such as to make war and peace, to make treaties and alliances, to send and receive ambassadors, to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, to coin money, and some others. Second, there were certain *powers to be exercised concurrently* by both state

Distribution of powers

and national governments, such as the power of taxation and of borrowing money. Third, there were *powers denied to the federal government* (see Art. I, sec. 9; Amendments I–VIII). Fourth, there were *powers denied to the states* (Art. I, sec. 10). Fifth, all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are *reserved to the states* respectively or to the people" (Amendment X).

In the general plan of the national government the convention was influenced by the plan of the state governments. Provision was therefore made for a legislative, an executive, and a judicial branch, with the same separation of powers that is found in the states.

The question at once arose as to the basis of representation in the Congress, which was to consist of two houses.

Representation in Congress

Some of the delegates, representing the smaller states, believed that all the states should have equal representation, thus keeping prominent the idea that the Union was a mere league of states. Delegates from the larger states, on the other hand, arguing that the states together constituted a single nation, believed that the several states should be represented in proportion to their population. The contest was settled by a compromise, according to which each state was to have two representatives in the Senate, and proportional representation in the House of Representatives. According to the apportionment following the census of 1910, there is one representative for every 212,407 people, making a total of 435 members in the House of Representatives.

The members of the House of Representatives are elected by direct vote of the people, one from each of the congressional districts into which each state is divided. The number of congressional districts in each state is deter

mined by the population of the state at the most recent census. The members of the Senate are considered as representing their states, rather than the people. It was originally provided that they should be elected by the state legislatures (Art. I, sec. 3), but by the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution they will hereafter be elected by vote of the people. A higher age qualification was fixed for membership in the Senate than in the House (Art. I, sec. 2, clause 2; sec. 3, clause 3). The term of office of senators is six years, while that of representatives is only two. The term of office of only one third of the senators expires at the same time, so that at least two thirds of the Senate is always experienced, while the House may be almost entirely made over at any election. These and other causes have made the Senate a more dignified and conservative body than the House of Representatives.

The Senate and the House of Representatives

The greater conservatism of the Senate was intended, in part, as a check on the impetuosity of the direct representatives of the people, and, in part, to fit it for its *special executive duties*. The Senate must confirm all appointments made by the President, and must, by a two thirds vote, ratify all treaties made by the President before they can go into effect (Art. II, sec. 2). The Senate moves more slowly in its deliberations than the House, takes more time for debate, and exercises a steadying influence on the lower and more numerous body. On the other hand, the House serves as a check on the Senate and has certain powers not held by the latter. All bills for raising revenue must originate in the House, although the Senate may suggest amendments to them (Art. I, sec. 7). All other bills may originate in either house, but must pass each house separately. The

Powers of the Senate and the House

House has the sole power of impeachment; but the Senate must act as the court to try the impeachment (Art. I, sec. 2, clause 5; sec. 3, clause 6). Six judges, one President, and one Secretary of War have been impeached by the House of Representatives in our history, but only in the cases of three of the judges did the Senate convict.

Committees and the speaker

Both houses of Congress are organized into a large number of committees, by which most of the work of legislation is done. Every bill proposed in either house is referred to its appropriate committee for consideration. A large proportion of these bills never come out of committee at all. Those that are reported back to Congress are usually passed or not in accordance with the recommendation of the committees. Until recently the committees of the House of Representatives were appointed by the Speaker, who is the presiding officer of the House, elected by it, and of course representing the majority. This control over the committees gave the Speaker great power over legislation. At present, however, the committees of the House are elected by it, a majority of each committee representing the majority party of the House. By this and other means the power of the Speaker has been materially reduced. The committees of the Senate are elected by that body.

The executive

One of the chief defects of the government under the Articles of Confederation was the lack of a strong executive. Yet the memory of the despotism of the king caused opposition, in the convention of 1787, to the establishment of a single executive head. Experience in the state governments, however, had shown that a single executive head was not dangerous if his powers were properly limited and checked. The result was that

the executive branch of the national government was made to consist of a President, with a short term of four years, who shall be removable from office by impeachment if he ventures to assume powers not conferred on him. A Vice-President also was created, who, however, has no executive powers except in the event of the President's death, when he assumes that office. He is presiding officer over the Senate, but he has no vote in legislation except in case of a tie. The President and the Vice-President are elected by the peculiar electoral system described on page 197 (Constitution, Art. II, sec. 1, and Amendment XII). This method, originally intended to remove the choice from the control of the masses, fails to do so, and is now a mere form because of the development of the party system of making nominations.

Although in the states the executive power is divided among the governor and other officers (see page 246), in the national government it is concentrated completely in the hands of the President. The heads of the *executive departments*, constituting the President's *cabinet*, are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate (Art. II, sec. 2, clause 2) and are removable by him. They are responsible to him alone, and carry out the policy of government dictated by him. If anything goes wrong in any of the executive departments, the people hold the President responsible for it, and may show their disapproval at the next election.

Concentration of executive power

The President's power to make appointments, like his power to make treaties with foreign nations, is limited by requiring the advice and consent of the Senate. On the other hand, the President has a check on legislation in his veto power, although Congress may pass a law over the President's veto by a two thirds

The power of the President

vote. The veto power of the President was intended to prevent Congress from going beyond the powers granted to it in the Constitution. It has often been exercised, however, merely because the President disapproved the measure enacted by Congress. The President has exercised the veto power much more in recent years than formerly. Congress very rarely passes a law over the President's veto. The President has some further influence in legislation by his power to call special sessions of Congress and through his messages to Congress, in which he suggests questions that, in his opinion, demand legislative action.

Encroachment on the President's appointing power by Congress

In the appointment of the subordinate officers and employees of the civil service, Congress, and especially the Senate, is accused of encroaching on the powers of the President. The latter, in seeking for suitable persons to fill the thousands of places at his disposal in all parts of the country, has naturally come to depend largely on the senators and representatives from the different sections for information regarding the qualifications of the candidates. Because of this, the members of Congress have, in the course of time, assumed the right to make nominations for these offices, and expect the President to accept their suggestions. The President has often been forced to accede to the wishes of congressmen in the matter of appointment by their refusal to enact legislation that he wishes unless he does accede.

In this way the Congress has, in a measure, taken upon itself some of the powers that belong to the President. Generally speaking, this has lowered the efficiency of the civil service by encouraging the spoils system. This evil has, in part, been checked by the introduction of the merit system of appointment to a large proportion of the offices in the civil service (see page 211).

The President's cabinet is made up of the heads of the ten executive departments — State, the Treasury, War, the Navy, Justice, Post Office, the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

Through the Department of State relations are maintained between the United States and foreign powers. The Secretary of State is in constant communication with the ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and other representatives of our government in foreign countries, and with the similar representatives of foreign governments in this country. He is also the channel of communication between the President of the United States and the governors of the several states. Through him the rights of American citizens in foreign countries are looked after. The Secretary of State is the first in rank among the cabinet members, and would by law succeed to the Presidency in case of the death or removal of both the President and the Vice-President.

Department of State

The Secretary of the Treasury is the financial manager of the national government. Besides having charge of the planning and collection of the revenues, the coinage and printing of money, and other financial matters, he also controls the construction and maintenance of public buildings and administers the life-saving service and the public health service of the national government.

Treasury Department

The Secretary of War has control, under the President, of the military establishment of the nation. He also administers river and harbor improvements and the prevention of obstruction to navigation. He has direction of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, which supervises the civil government of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

War Department

The Attorney-General is the head of the Department of

Justice. He is the chief law officer of the government, representing it in court either personally or through subordinates, and giving legal advice to the President and the heads of the other departments.

Department of Justice

The Postmaster General directs the Post Office Department. Besides administering the regular postal service in all its branches, he also has charge of the newly established postal savings system.

Post Office Department

The Secretary of the Navy superintends all matters pertaining to the "construction, manning, equipment, and employment of vessels of war."

Navy Department

The Secretary of the Interior has under his administration a wide variety of matters pertaining to the internal welfare of the nation. Through many bureaus and divisions of the department he has charge of the public lands, the care of the national parks, the giving of patents for inventions, the pensioning of old soldiers, Indian affairs, education, the reclamation service, the geological survey, the improvement of methods of mining and the safety of miners, certain matters pertaining to the territories of the United States, and the supervision of certain hospitals and charitable institutions in the District of Columbia.

Department of the Interior

The Secretary of Agriculture promotes, through the various divisions of his department, the general agricultural interests of the country. In his department are bureaus of animal industry, of plant industry, of soils, of chemistry, of entomology (for the study of insects in their relations to agriculture), and of biology (for the study of animals and birds in the same relations). He also administers the weather bureau and the forest service and assists in the development of good roads through the office of public roads.

Department of Agriculture

The Secretary of Commerce has charge of the department whose business is to promote the commercial interests of the nation. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce aids in the development of the manufacturing industries and in finding markets for them. It collects information regarding the trade conditions at home and abroad. The Department of Commerce also includes the Bureau of Corporations, the Census Bureau, and the Bureaus of Lighthouses, of Navigation, and of Fisheries.

Department of Commerce

The Secretary of Labor is the head of the most recently established executive department, and is charged with the duty of "fostering, promoting, and developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment." Among the important bureaus of this department are the Bureaus of Immigration and of Naturalization, and the Children's Bureau, recently established to "investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people."

Department of Labor

This brief description of these executive departments will serve to suggest the great variety of ways in which the national government is looking after the common welfare, the common interests of the national community, touching the lives of all of us at many points.

The Constitution provides for a system of federal courts entirely distinct from the state courts. It says, "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish" (Art. III, sec. 1). The number of judges in the Supreme Court is determined by Congress, and at

The judiciary

present is nine. They meet at Washington and are presided over by one of their number, who is designated as the Chief Justice. In addition to the Supreme Court, there are nine *circuit courts of appeals*, each circuit including several states; and seventy-nine *district courts*. There is also a *court of claims*, before which are brought claims against the government; and a *court of customs appeals*. The judges of all the federal courts are appointed by the President and hold office "during good behavior" (Art. III, sec. 1).

Powers of the federal courts

The powers of the federal courts are stated in the Constitution (Art. III, sec. 2). In general, they may be said to include cases of a national or interstate character. A case first brought to trial before a state court may be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States when the Constitution, the laws, or the treaties of the United States are involved. Its decisions are final over those of the state courts. It is the final authority (under the people themselves) in the interpretation of the Constitution. It may declare null and void an act of Congress or any state law which, in its opinion, is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. It might seem that the Supreme Court thus has power which might make it despotic, and give it control over the other branches of the government; but it has no means of enforcing a despotic judgment. That must be done by the executive. If the court should attempt to push its authority too far, it would find itself in conflict with both Congress and the executive. At the elections the people would show whether they supported the court or the other branches of government. And, finally, Congress has the weapon of impeachment by which offending judges may be removed.

The Supreme Court has excited the admiration of the

world, not only because of its purpose as defender of the Constitution, but because of the ability and integrity its judges have shown in performing their duty. It has always, with one or two possible exceptions, shown a strong disposition to render its opinions in accordance with the intentions of the Constitution, and thus to be strictly representative of the people.

Besides the thirteen original states which were united under the Constitution in the beginning, the United States at that time included territorial domains extending westward to the Mississippi River. In the course of events our nation expanded by the acquisition of new territory until it reached the Pacific Ocean. This domain had to be governed. For this purpose Congress organized it into *territories* under the direct control of the federal government, but granting to them limited powers of self-government through legislatures of their own. To these territories Congress held out the promise of statehood, when their population and other conditions should warrant it, on exactly equal terms with the original thirteen states. To-day our national flag contains forty-eight stars, and no part of continental United States (exclusive of Alaska) remains under a territorial form of government.

The territories of the United States

The territorial expansion of the United States has continued, however, beyond its natural continental boundaries. Alaska was purchased in 1867. As a result of the Spanish war Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands came into our possession. Hawaii was annexed about the same time, and a number of small islands in the Pacific have been acquired as naval stations. All of these territories and possessions are under the control of the federal government.

Territorial expansion

Alaska and Hawaii are regularly organized territories, just as Arizona and New Mexico were before they were recently admitted as states. The government of each consists of a governor, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate; a legislature of two houses, whose members are elected by the people of the territory; and courts, whose judges are appointed by the President. The people of each territory also elect a delegate to Congress, with the right to take part in its debates but not to vote. Congress has power to admit these territories to statehood.

Alaska and Hawaii

The Philippines, Porto Rico, and the other islands belonging to the United States are *possessions* rather than territories. They are more completely controlled by the federal government than Alaska and Hawaii.

At the head of the general government of the Philippines is the Philippine Commission, which consists of a Governor-General and eight commissioners, all of whom are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Five members of the Commission are heads of executive departments, as well as having legislative powers. The other four members have only legislative powers.

The Philippine Islands

The Commission also constitutes the upper house of the legislature, the lower house consisting of members elected by the people of the various districts into which the civilized portion of the islands is divided. For the uncivilized portion of the islands the Commission of nine is the sole legislative body.

There is also a system of courts. The judges of the Supreme Court of the islands are appointed by the President, while those of the lower courts are appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of the Commission.

The Philippines also have two *resident commissioners* to the United States, with seats in the House of Representatives but without the right to vote.

The Philippines are divided into a number of provinces, each of which is governed by a provincial board of three members. Each province consists of a number of "municipalities," each with its own local government.

Self-government in the Philippines

It has been the policy of the federal government to give to the Philippine Islands, as also to Porto Rico, as large a degree of self-government as possible, and to educate the people for it as rapidly as may be. The municipalities are almost wholly self-governing, with supervision only of their financial affairs and of the police. Of the three members of the provincial boards two are elected by the people, and the third (the treasurer), while appointed by the Governor-General, is often a Filipino. In the general government, five of the nine members of the Commission have been Filipinos, and the lower house of the legislature is elected by the people. All of the justices of the peace and many of the higher judges are natives. In 1912 nearly 6000 Filipinos competed in the examinations for civil service positions, and two thirds of these positions were held by them.

Results of American rule

In appointing the first Philippine Commission President McKinley said, "The commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction . . . but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Philippine Islands." A great deal of money has been expended in carrying out this policy. Most notable, perhaps, of all the work done by our government in the Philippines is that by which such dread diseases as cholera, smallpox, and the

bubonic plague have been fought and largely stamped out. In addition to this an educational system has been established, roads and other means of communication improved, and steps taken to conserve the rich natural resources of the islands.

Porto Rico

The new organic law which went into effect March 2, 1917, granted the people of Porto Rico a larger share of self-government than they had enjoyed before. Their government now consists of a governor, appointed by the President; a legislature of two houses, elected by the people; and a system of courts. There are 76 municipalities which enjoy some local government. The Island is represented in Congress by a resident commissioner. The federal government supervises the government of Porto Rico and of the Philippines through the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department.

Whether the Philippines and Porto Rico shall be allowed to pass into the stage of territorial government with the promise of future statehood, or shall be trained in self government until they shall be granted more or less complete independence of the United States, is one of the questions for the future to answer. Each course has its advocates.

Our smaller insular possessions, such as Guam and the Samoan Islands, are merely naval stations and are governed by the naval commandants stationed there. The District of Columbia, including Washington, the seat of the federal government, is governed wholly by Congress as its legislature, and by executive and judicial officers appointed by the President. Its people have absolutely no powers of self-government.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Report on the story of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 Also on the ratification of the Constitution by the states.

2. Study the organization of Congress as provided in the Constitution.

3. Report on the powers of the speaker of the House of Representatives.

4. Why should bills for the raising of revenue originate in the House ?

5. Make a list of the powers of the President as contained in the Constitution.

6. What are the several executive departments? What are their duties? Who are the members of the cabinet at the present time?

7. Study the powers of the federal courts as given in the Constitution.

8. Make as complete a list as possible of the different checks and balances provided in the organization of the federal government.

9. Report on the work accomplished in the Philippine Islands under the American government. Also in Porto Rico.

10. Debate the question, "The Philippine Islands should ultimately be granted their independence."

11. Report on the importance of Alaska as a part of the United States.

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CHAPTER XXV

HOW THE EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT ARE MET

All this machinery of government, and all the work that it does for the people, costs the people a great deal. The thousands of citizens who are employed in conducting the affairs of government must be paid for their services — although there are some offices to which no salaries are attached. There must be office buildings for the transaction of public business, such as post offices, capitol buildings, and courthouses. Schoolhouses, parks, hospitals, and prisons must be paid for. Materials must be bought and workmen employed to build navies, to construct roads and bridges, to pave streets and lay sewers, and to do the many other things that government does for us. Occasionally, some great emergency arises, like a war, which demands enormous sums of money.

The cost of the national government each year is much more than the cost of all the state governments together; but the cost of our local governments throughout the country is, each year, more than that of the national and state governments together. This may be surprising; but it is due to the costliness of paving streets, maintaining police and fire departments and the public schools, and of making the many improvements necessitated by the rapid growth of our cities. The immense cost of our governments is beyond our powers of imagination. It may be roughly stated as

The cost of government

about $2,000,000,000. It may help you to understand this enormous sum of money if you will calculate how long it would take a man to count it, supposing that he works constantly eight hours a day, and counts $1 every second, or $60 a minute.

This great sum of money must be raised each year. The people of each local community — township, county, or city — must pay the expense of their local government; the people of the whole state unite in paying the expense of the state government; and the people of the nation contribute to the expenses of the national government. They do this chiefly by paying *taxes*.

Taxes are a contribution that the people are required by the government to pay to meet the cost of the government. The people have never enjoyed paying taxes. The government seems to put its hand into their pockets and take what belongs to them. Taxation has often seemed an act of oppression, and it may become so when it is imposed on the people without their consent, and when it is for purposes other than their own welfare. Very light taxes imposed on the American colonists by the English government without their consent seemed oppressive to them and led to the Revolution. Taxation by our government should not be an act of oppression, because the people, being self-governing, are supposed to tax themselves; and because, in the second place, the taxes are supposed to be spent for the benefit of the people themselves. It is only just that a person shall pay for what he gets. He has no more right to complain about paying for the protection and benefit that he receives from the government than he has to complain about paying the carpenter for building his house — provided, of course, that the government performs efficiently and eco-

Taxation is not oppression

nomically the work expected of it. It is true that taxation, even in our country at the present time, may sometimes be unwise, and may weigh unjustly upon some of the people for reasons that will be mentioned later in the chapter; but as a rule, the amount that each person has to pay to the government in taxes is insignificant in proportion to the great benefit that he receives.

The right of self-taxation and the federal government

The American colonies objected to taxation by the English government because they had no voice in the matter. Each colony believed that it should have the right to levy its own taxes through its representatives in the colonial legislature. After they had won their independence they still objected to giving up the right of self-taxation even to the central government of the Confederation. When the Congress needed money, even to carry on the war for independence, it could only ask the states for it, and had no power to demand it or to collect it. The taxing power rested with the state legislatures, composed of the representatives of the people. This lack of power on the part of the central government caused great confusion and distress both during and after the Revolution, because the states were jealous of each other, and their interests conflicted to such an extent that they could not always be depended on to provide the money necessary for the common interests of all. It soon became apparent that, if the new nation were to continue to exist, it would be necessary for the central government to have the power to tax *for certain purposes.* This was one of the chief reasons for framing a new Constitution, creating a Congress which was to have power "to lay and collect taxes . . . *to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare* of the United States" (Art. I, sec. 3, clause 1). But the Consti-

tution was careful to provide that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," which is the branch of Congress most closely representative of the people (Art. I, sec. 7). For all other matters not of national importance the taxing power rests with the representatives of the people in the state legislatures and in the local legislative bodies, such as the city council and the board of county commissioners.

Direct and indirect taxation

Taxation may be direct or indirect. Direct taxes are those which are paid directly and finally by the person against whom the government assesses them. A tax on land, or on household furniture, is intended to be borne by the person who owns the land or the furniture. Indirect taxes, on the other hand, may be transferred from one person to another. A tax on imported goods may be levied against the importer. But he adds the amount of the tax to the price of the goods when he sells them to dealers. The dealers, in turn, add the amount of the tax to the price which they receive from the people who buy the goods. When you buy silk that has been imported from France, you indirectly pay a small part of the tax that was originally assessed against the importer. A tax on houses and land, which is usually considered a direct tax, may become indirect if the owner rents his property; for he may make the rent high enough to cover the tax, which thus falls on the renter.

Direct taxation by state and local governments

Almost all of the taxes levied and collected by the state and local governments are direct taxes, and consist chiefly of taxes on property, which is divided into real estate, consisting of land and buildings, and personal property, including furniture, jewelry, money, and other forms of movable property. In the payment of the tax on property it is

intended that each taxpayer shall pay in proportion to the amount of his property. The man who owns twice as much property as another should pay twice as much tax. Anything else would be unjust.

The preliminary estimate of expenses

In order to know how much tax a citizen must pay, it is first of all necessary to know how much money will be needed to run the government for a year. This is determined beforehand by the heads of the various departments of the government, who make an estimate of the amount of money needed. A man usually considers it good business management of his private affairs when he comes out at the end of the year with a surplus on hand, something saved above his expenses. Not so with the government. It is a sign of good business management of the affairs of government when the treasury is practically empty at the end of the year. That is to say, it is not considered good management to levy more taxes than are actually needed. A good government will make the burden of taxation just as light as possible, and yet cover all expenses so that there will be no deficit at the end of the year.

The assessment

The second thing to be found out, in determining the amount of tax each citizen must pay, is the value of all the property in the community in which the tax is to be levied. This is called *assessing* the value of the property. The assessment is made by officers known as assessors, who are sometimes elected by the people and sometimes appointed. There is an assessor for each local division of the state, as for the county, or township, or city. The assessor and his assistants visit and inspect the property of each citizen in the district, question the owner, and assess a value on the property. The sum of the individual assessments makes the total assessment for the district;

and the sum of the valuations of all the districts makes the valuation for the entire state.

Knowing the amount of money to be expended by the government, and also the value of all the property in the community, it is now possible to find the rate of taxation — that is, the percentage of his property that each citizen must pay. This is done by dividing the total expenditures for the year by the total assessment. Thus, if the necessary expenditures amount to $100,000 and the total assessment amounts to $10,000,000, the rate of taxation is found by dividing 100,000 by 10,000,000, which gives one hundredth, or one per cent. Each taxpayer, therefore, would have to pay one per cent of the assessed value of his property. A property owner in a city must pay a certain rate of tax toward the expenses of the city government, another rate toward the expenses of the state government. He pays his entire tax into the treasury of the city or of the county, where it is divided into the shares belonging to the city, the county, and the state.

The rate of taxation

It is not easy to secure a perfectly just tax. In the first place, it is not easy to estimate the real worth of a man's property, even when it can all be seen. One man's property may be assessed too high, and another man's too low. In order to correct such inequalities there is often a *board of equalization*, before which complaints may be brought, and by which corrections are made. Sometimes the county commissioners act in this capacity. In the assessment of the state taxes also there may be great inequalities among the different counties, due to the varying accuracy of the different assessors. There is usually a state board of equalization to adjust these differences.

Equalization

Such inequalities in taxation as those just mentioned are unfortunate, but they are accidental and can usually be corrected. There are other inequalities due to dishonest and unpatriotic attempts on the part of some citizens to avoid their fair share of taxation. It is not easy to avoid paying taxes on buildings and land, because these forms of property cannot be hidden; but there are many forms of personal property that can easily be kept out of sight, and it is usually those who can best afford to pay who have the most of this kind of property. There seems to be a feeling among a great many people that it is justifiable to "get ahead of the government" by avoiding the taxes for which it asks. In reality the people who avoid paying their just taxes defraud, not the government, but their fellow-citizens and neighbors. In their attempt to get something for nothing, they shift the burden of taxation on others, who are, in many cases, less able to pay than they. The smaller the amount of property assessed throughout the community, the higher the rate of taxation that each citizen has to pay. Those who withhold their property from assessment not only shirk their responsibility, but also increase the burden of the other members of the community.

Evasion of taxes an injury to the community

State and local governments impose other forms of taxes than the general property tax. In some states there is a *poll*, or *capitation* tax, which is a tax on the person and not on the property. It varies from one to four dollars. In some states there is an income tax, levied, not on the amount of property a man has, but on the income he receives. Some states have an inheritance tax, levied on property received by inheritance. There is a corporation tax, levied on corporations doing business in the state. In addition to these forms

Special forms of taxation

of taxation, there are revenues derived by state and local governments from various kinds of licenses, fees, and special assessments. Men who conduct certain kinds of business must pay the government of state or locality a license fee, as in the case of peddlers, saloon keepers, and pawnbrokers. Such licenses are intended, usually, to restrict such businesses as well as to secure a revenue. In most cities a license fee must be paid on all vehicles, including bicycles. When sewers are laid or roads built, they are often paid for, in part at least, by special assessments against the property owners most directly benefited. Finally, there are fines collected in the courts, which are turned into the public revenues. These special taxes and fees are often devoted to special purposes, as when the license fees on vehicles are used to keep up the roads and pavements, or when saloon licenses are used for the benefit of the schools.

Licenses and fees

Some kinds of property may be exempt from taxation; that is, no tax is levied against them. For example, public school buildings and property are exempt. Church property, the property of colleges, public hospitals, public buildings such as courthouses, charitable institutions, and other forms of property of a public character, used for the public benefit and not for profit, are exempt from taxation.

Exemptions

While the state and local governments derive most of their revenues from direct taxation, the national government derives most of its revenues from indirect taxation. The Constitution permits Congress to levy both direct and indirect taxes. Direct taxes have been levied by the national government several times in our history, but they have been objected to in the past for two reasons. In the

Indirect taxation by the national government

first place, the Constitution provides that direct taxes "shall be apportioned among the several states . . . according to their respective numbers." That is, if the national government should decide to levy a tax on land, it would first determine how much of a tax is needed altogether, and would then call on the states to pay their share in proportion to their population. A state having twice the population of another would also pay twice the tax of the other. In practice it has been found very difficult to apportion a tax in this way, and do it justly. Another reason why the national government prefers to employ indirect, rather than direct, taxation is because indirect taxes can be collected so much more easily than direct taxes, and without attracting the attention of the people so much. The people prefer local self-taxation, and might feel more antagonistic to a tax collector representing the far-away central authority. In 1913, however, the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution became effective, which gives Congress power to levy a direct tax on incomes of corporations and private persons. Unmarried persons with an income of less than $3000, and married couples with an income of less than $4000, are exempt from this tax.

Direct federal taxes

The national government raises most of its money by means of import duties and excise taxes. Import duties, as already explained, are taxes on imported goods, paid at first by the importer, but finally by the people in all parts of the country who use the goods. This form of taxation is very little felt by the people, and yet very large sums of money are raised by means of it. The excise is a tax levied on goods manufactured in this country. This form of taxation was once very unpopular, because it seemed a restriction on the industry of the

Imports and excises

country by the national government. The chief manufactures taxed in this way are alcoholic liquors and tobacco in its various forms. This tax also, though at first paid by the manufacturers, is distributed among the people who use the articles.

For the collection of import duties all imported goods are required to pass through customs houses at important cities, mostly on the borders of the country, but sometimes in the interior, where the goods are inspected by customs officers and the tax is collected. For the collection of excise taxes the country is divided into *internal revenue districts*, in each of which is a revenue collector with assistants, who visit distilleries, breweries, and tobacco factories to collect the tax.

Collection of duties

Additional revenue is obtained by the national government through the sale of public lands and the receipts of the postal service.

In time of war, or to pay for great permanent improvements like the Panama Canal, or to meet a deficit in the treasury, it becomes necessary to borrow large sums of money. Borrowing under such circumstances is justifiable for two reasons. First, because an increase in the taxes cannot be secured quickly enough to meet the emergency. In the second place, it is just that the expense of a great war or of a permanent improvement should be distributed over a considerable length of time, because future generations are affected by it as much as the present. The money is borrowed, therefore, and is paid back by taxation during a long period of years. The usual method of borrowing is by the sale of government bonds, which are bought by individuals and financial institutions, and upon which the government pays interest. It is then necessary for the government to lay aside a fund

Borrowing money

from its revenues during a period of years to pay off its indebtedness.

There has never been, in the national finances, the same careful adjustment between receipts and expenditures that we now find, for example, in many of our city governments. The revenues are a more or less uncertain quantity, because it cannot be told in advance with accuracy what the imports will amount to, nor what the incomes of corporations and individuals will be. Unexpected deficits and surpluses appear in the treasury. Appropriations are often made recklessly by Congress, sometimes resulting in insufficient funds for important work, sometimes in extravagant expenditures for purposes of little general value. There is need for improvement in the business methods of the national government that will result at once in greater economy and greater efficiency.

FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Try to find out, from printed reports of the treasurer, what the annual expense of your city (or county or township) is. Make a list of some of the more important items of expense, such as salaries, buildings, streets, etc.

2. Find out what the rate of taxation is for your city; for your county; for your state.

3. How is the expense of the public schools met in your community?

4. Is there a tax on vehicles in your community? To what use is this money put?

5. What kinds of business are conducted in your community under license? What is the amount of the saloon license? To what use is the revenue from this source put?

6. Obtain a tax list from the office of the assessor and note the items listed.

7. How is the expense of constructing a sewer met in your community? Of paving a street?

8. Is there any limit to the amount of taxes that your city council (or county commissioners) may levy?

9. Does your city charter limit the amount that your city may borrow? Does the state constitution limit the amount that can be borrowed by the state? If so, why?

10. To whom, and at what times, are the taxes paid in your community?

11. Report on the practice of "log-rolling" in Congress. What are its effects?

12. What is meant by the "single tax"? What are the arguments for it?

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Fiske, "Civil Government," chapter I.
Wilcox, "The American City," chapters XII, XIII.

APPENDIX

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Preamble

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section I

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives [and direct taxes][1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, [which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other

[1] Modified by Amendment XVI.

persons.][1] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.][1]

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III

1. [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.][2]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President

[1] Tne clauses in brackets have been superseded by Amendments XIII and XIV.
[2] Superseded by Amendment XVII.

pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section IV

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meetings shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the

United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appoint-

ment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX

1. [The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.][1]

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation [or other direct][2] tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

[1] A temporary clause no longer in force. [2] Modified by Amendment XVI.

Section X

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section I

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole

number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] [1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

[1] Superseded by Amendment XII.

Section II

1. The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV

The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section I

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases, affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV

Section I

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. [No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.] [1]

Section III

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Section IV

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

[1] Superseded by Amendment XIII.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that [no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that][1] no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one

[1] Temporary in its nature.

thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

ARTICLES

in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No persons shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII

1. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President,

as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the

qualifications required for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of the State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CITIES HAVING, IN 1910, 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE

Cities	*Owned*	*Rented*	*Per cent Owned*
Albany, N. Y.	6,338	17,189	26.9
Atlanta, Ga.	8,580	26,213	24.7
Baltimore, Md.	38,400	75,381	33.7
Birmingham, Ala.	8,910	21,115	29.7
Boston, Mass.	23,496	114,312	17.1
Bridgeport, Conn.	4,671	16,504	22.1
Buffalo, N. Y.	30,592	58,745	34.2
Cambridge, Mass.	4,282	18,378	18.9
Chicago, Ill.	121,447	342,472	26.2
Cincinnati, Ohio	19,965	66,153	23.2
Cleveland, Ohio	43,473	80,005	35.2
Columbus, Ohio	14,862	26,787	35.7
Dayton, Ohio	10,596	17,244	38.1
Denver, Col.	17,774	31,342	36.2
Detroit, Mich.	40,471	57,831	41.2
Fall River, Mass.	4,317	19,926	17.8
Grand Rapids, Mich.	12,599	13,690	47.9
Indianapolis, Ind.	19,036	38,702	33.0
Jersey City, N. J.	11,209	44,394	20.2
Kansas City, Mo.	20,711	36,537	36.2
Los Angeles, Cal.	34,159	42,202	44.7
Louisville, Ky.	13,603	37,621	26.6
Lowell, Mass.	4,848	16,761	22.4
Memphis, Tenn.	7,541	22,363	25.2
Milwaukee, Wis.	28,824	50,352	36.4
Minneapolis, Minn.	24,539	36,195	40.4
Nashville, Tenn.	7,879	17,868	30.6
New Haven, Conn.	7,326	21,394	25.5
New Orleans, La.	16,273	54,113	23.1
New York, N. Y.	117,740	884,616	11.7
Manhattan Borough	*14,103*	*468,927*	*2.9*
Bronx Borough	*12,071*	*80,114*	*13.1*

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CITIES HAVING, IN 1910, 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE — *Continued*

Cities	*Owned*	*Rented*	*Per cent Owned*
New York, N. Y. — *Continued*			
Brooklyn Borough	*63,842*	*284,739*	*18.3*
Queens Borough	*21,176*	*40,020*	*34.6*
Richmond Borough	*6,548*	*10,816*	*37.7*
Newark, N. J.	15,119	60,473	20.0
Oakland, Cal.	16,870	19,263	46.7
Omaha, Neb.	10,095	15,269	39.8
Paterson, N. J.	6,538	20,714	24.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	83,262	229,354	26.6
Pittsburgh, Pa.	29,983	77,288	28.0
Portland, Ore.	18,509	21,495	46.3
Providence, R. I.	10,071	38,276	20.8
Richmond, Va.	6,255	19,801	24.0
Rochester, N. Y.	19,321	26,525	42.1
St. Louis, Mo.	37,761	113,515	25.0
St. Paul, Minn.	16,665	23,826	41.2
San Francisco, Cal.	27,500	55,946	33.0
Scranton, Pa.	9,711	16,116	37.6
Seattle, Wash.	22,167	27,245	44 9
Spokane, Wash.	11,165	10,610	51.3
Syracuse, N. Y.	12,202	18,547	39.7
Toledo, Ohio	17,170	21,609	44.3
Washington, D. C.	17,375	51,607	25.2
Worcester, Mass.	7,431	23,057	24.4

IMMIGRATION BY DECADES, 1821 TO 1913

1821 to 1830	143,439	1871 to 1880	2,812,191
1831 to 1840	599,125	1881 to 1890	5,246,613
1841 to 1850	1,713,251	1891 to 1900	3,687,564
1851 to 1860	2,598,214	1901 to 1910	8,795,386
1861 to 1870	2,314,824	1911 to 1913 (3 years)	3,090,912

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913

Countries	*Immigrant Aliens Admitted*	*Emigrant Aliens Departed*
Austria	161,525	31,237
Hungary	133,236	32,691
Belgium	8,043	903
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro	1,988	9,739
Denmark	7,016	649
France, including Corsica	10,374	3,905
German Empire	37,767	5,294
Greece	24,270	31,017
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia	311,393	91,696
Netherlands	7,472	640
Norway	9,525	1,854
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands	16,204	2,083
Roumania	2,502	345
Russian Empire and Finland	340,461	30,489
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands	7,610	2,316
Sweden	18,872	2,316
Switzerland	4,361	507
Turkey in Europe	15,093	4,992
United Kingdom:		
England	48,016	6,582
Ireland	30,829	3,322
Scotland	16,105	2,379
Wales	3,178	177
Other Europe	411	16
Total Europe	1,216,251	265,149
China	2,338	2,426
Japan	9,251	778
India	193	240
Turkey in Asia	27,187	1,404
Other Asia	1,051	107
Total Asia	40,020	4,955

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913 — *Continued*

Countries	*Immigrant Aliens Admitted*	*Emigrant Aliens Departed*
Africa	1,539	220
Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand	1,384	704
Pacific islands (not specified)	125	29
British North America	81,002	52,433
Central America	1,674	557
Mexico	12,994	1,051
South America	4,828	1,472
West Indies	14,312	4,535
Other countries	24	15
Grand total	1,374,153	331,120

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION BY STATES FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913

States	*Immigrant Aliens Admitted*	*Emigrant Aliens Departed*
Alabama	1,266	401
Alaska	829	107
Arizona	4,227	648
Arkansas	408	61
California	35,235	8,568
Colorado	6,443	1,742
Connecticut	40,934	6,796
Delaware	2,208	260
District of Columbia	1,882	388
Florida	5,758	2,746
Georgia	852	171
Hawaii	7,719	723
Idaho	1,887	409
Illinois	123,936	25,535

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION BY STATES FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913 — *Continued*

States	*Immigrant Aliens Admitted*	*Emigrant Aliens Departed*
Indiana	15,099	4,055
Iowa	9,524	1,464
Kansas	4,034	633
Kentucky	818	187
Louisiana	1,912	490
Maine	7,361	734
Maryland	9,432	1,238
Massachusetts	115,773	18,356
Michigan	68,997	8,045
Minnesota	21,762	3,066
Mississippi	443	50
Missouri	13,002	3,587
Montana	6,558	990
Nebraska	7,016	739
Nevada	1,082	418
New Hampshire	8,922	1,732
New Jersey	70,152	13,378
New Mexico	830	277
New York	376,011	88,937
North Carolina	450	83
North Dakota	4,853	240
Ohio	72,902	13,985
Oklahoma	1,121	247
Oregon	5,590	1,422
Pennsylvania	215,375	47,389
Philippine Islands	17	2
Porto Rico	984	883
Rhode Island	15,470	2,762
South Carolina	286	55
South Dakota	1,818	210
Tennessee	887	143
Texas	12,240	901
Utah	3,363	1,384

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION BY STATES FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913 — *Continued*

States	*Immigrant Aliens Admitted*	*Emigrant Aliens Departed*
Vermont	4,064	580
Virginia	2,006	438
Washington	20,460	2,967
West Virginia	12,037	3,668
Wisconsin	26,646	4,241
Wyoming	1,272	529
Unknown		52,059
Total	1,374,153	331,120

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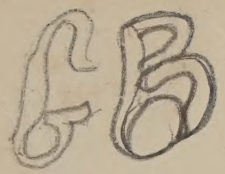
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